Pakistan Faces India

PAKISTAN FACES INDIA

by

AZIZ BEG

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by

AZIZ BEG

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To
My Father

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FOREWORD

I wish I could write a proper Foreword to the timely and thought-provoking book of Mr. Aziz Beg. The subject matter of the author's book is too close to contemporary factors for me to make a detailed comment on the many relevant issues discussed. Indeed, some of the happenings and their interpretations are intimately interwoven with the role I have had in the crucible of events. Primarily for this reason, I find it difficult to speak out more openly. However, as there is no estoppel on history, time is bound to unfold the whole drama in its broad, objective setting. I believe Mr. Aziz Beg's contribution will assist in the unravelling of these events in an academic perspective. For the present, it is sufficient to say that Mr. Aziz Beg's book is both relevant and necessary. It is a cogent commentary on the Indo-Pakistan confrontation and should facilitate the better understanding of the malaise which has afflicted out two countries.

It is my conviction that ultimately the sub-continent will find a just and normal equilibrium but in order to achieve such a state of affairs, it is essential for us to face bravely the struggle for the

realisation of the high aspirations for which our country was created. In achieving this just destiny we are not motivated by malice or hatred. After 19 years of the Kashmir tragedy it should be sufficiently clear to everyone that in defending the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir we have no animus for the people of India. On the contrary, it only demonstrates our respect for international morality and truth.

ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO

PREFACE

In the eyes of the West, the present Indo-Pakistan relationship is a riddle, but the situation would appear to them less enigmatic if they were not so fond of believing that Hindus and Muslims after all come from the same racial stock, have the same basic language and culture and the subcontinent forms one geographical—and political—unit.

No wonder, the September war appeared to them more like a domestic quarrel than an international conflict. Someone in Washington was so scared of truth that he was content to describe it as a civil war.

Thus, they have laboriously, though vainly, tried to equate their views by blaming both parties and lamenting that this is an ill-wind that blows nobody good in the subcontinent. Perhaps, they could not muster the requisite moral courage and at least apportion responsibility for the present state of confrontation.

Similarly, Western writers on India and Pakistan often try to maintain a balance between contending

opinions. They have not even told the readers who is 'more right' and 'less wrong'. It has been a common practice to condemn and counsel both; they perhaps feel that it is better and safer to displease both—equally—than win over one and incur the wrath of the other.

The only fruit of this non-chalant attitude was misjudgment. If their assessment had been a little more than casual, they would have at least refrained from comments which obliquely question the very basis of partition. They have not to be partial or partisan but, if the facts are accessible and evidence available, why should they try to stifle their own views. If it is always a 'version' and never a 'verdict', the world will not know the whole truth. And, truth does not like to be tilted; it needs to be told.

On 3 June 1947—the day partition plan was announced—we all believed that the division of the country was based on consent, not coercion, but subsequent events proved that it was far from a gentlemanly agreement. The leaders of majority community accepted it because they were sure that Pakistan was destined to die during the teething trial. As the new state did not crash 'according to plan' they jumped into the arena and challenged Pakistan on every front as this book will serve to show.

Thus, the first three chapters are a prologue to the birth and early struggle of Pakistan, followed by the story of betrayal in Kashmir. The fourth chapter deals with 'crush Pakistan' plans, steeled in the arsenal of India. The world should know how assiduously Hindu leaders have cultivated enmity with Pakistan. The subject of the next two chapters is armed showdown with Pakistan and the drama of power politics periodically and pathetically enacted in the theatre of United Nations. In the seventh chapter I have tried to examine and expose some popular myths woven round the land of Gandhi and Nehru.

The last chapter presents the Hindu mind to the world ; the exercise to understand it has done me great good and I hope the readers will share my exciting experience. The concluding part of the book is a brief dissertation on the dangerous gulf between India's external policies and internal situation which, according to many, seems to be foreshadowing disaster. Is India doomed to disintegration ? I believe reconciliation with Pakistan leaves India with more than fifty per cent chances of survival as a single political entity.

LAHORE

14 August, 1966

AZIZ BEG

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August, 1966. A.B.

CHAPTER I

MILESTONES

MILESTONES

Who made Pakistan? Was it the Muslims' passion for a national state and the historic outcome of the trend of self-determination? Was it a British creation as 'divide and quit' was perhaps the logical culmination of their 'divide and rule' policy? Or, was it the fruit of Hindu fanaticism which destroyed the dream of a united India? If the embryo of Pakistan was always there, who hastened the fertilisation process and ensured the birth of this State? If separation was based on separateness that has always existed between the Hindus and Muslims, what ingredients served to prepare the recipe? Was the prescription of Pakistan based on racial differences, consciousness of a common histo-rial past, the pull of language and a shared religion? If it is not enough to be an entity, what ideology helped to articulate the personality which flowered into Pakistan. There is no ready-reckoner to answer these questions. The emergence of Pakistan has been described as "one of the most significant and portentous events in modern times" but, in the eyes of the West, the new State and the neighbouring India are still "enigmas" as their mutual distrust is little

understood. . It is not surprising because few foreign observers have laboured to establish the relevance of the prevailing political temper to the exigencies of a situation which confronted the Muslims hundred years ago.

On the Tenth Day of May, 1857, was fired the first shot of the freedom battle which, after nearly a century of struggle, culminated in the sovereign Muslim State of Pakistan. As the British wrested the crown from the Muslims, they began to believe that their real enemies were the Muslims, and the only way to strengthen their stranglehold on the country was not only to crush the crusading resistance groups but to denude the Muslims of all political, cultural and economic power that could be mustered for another armed challenge to the new British Empire. Thus, Mutiny became a Muslim conspiracy against the British. And, thus, began the British conspiracy against the Muslims, spanned over ninety years, from Mutiny to Mountbatten.

It was all planned; it was a conscious policy of repression and suppression. Once the proud rulers of India, the Muslims soon began to see that they were being reduced to a position of servitude. But it was not only the loss of political power; it was the mounting threat to their culture, to their language, to their way of life, and even to their religion that seemed to spell their virtual destruction. The decks

were cleared for the biggest genocide in history. The ship of the Mughal Empire had sunk; Sirajud-daulah was humbled and defeated at Plassey; the British had become masters of the rich and resourceful province of Bengal; Tipu Sultan, the last strong man pitched against the new conquerors, fell a martyr. In the North-West, Shah Ismail Shaheed died battling against Ranjit Singh's hordes. The British had won the struggle for supremacy. But it was not only the might and majesty of the Mughal Empire that had disappeared; it was the reactionary and ruthless anti-Muslim policy that had become a real danger to the future of Musalmans as a community, as a religious group and cultural entity. Thus, millions of Musalmans were at the mercy of British bureaucrats whose fathers and forefathers had come as petty traders and all the Hindus became pet children to be pampered.

In the patronage of Hindus and persecution of Muslims lay the seeds of the Pakistan movement whose intellectual forerunner was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. But he had a namesake, Sayyid Ahmad, who was busy mobilising his forces against the British in the thirties of the last century. He was an ascetic who believed in action; he was a reformer who fought for freedom at a time when there was hardly any vestige of Muslim power in the Indian sub-continent. In 1823, he occupied a number of forts in

upper Punjab and organised the Frontier and Punjab Muslims into an 'army of Islam'. Within seven years, he captured Peshawar and stationed his forces on the plains of Indus; he founded a small State on the ideological principles of Islam. He died in 1831 but the fire of his movement did not die; the Moplah outbreaks and Santhal rising finally burst into the Revolution of 1857. It was an all-out war; Delhi was captured; Bahadur Shah was proclaimed the Emperor of Hindustan; the British troops were demoralised; but the freedom fighters were betrayed by their own countrymen. The Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha and Jind declared their loyalty to foreign masters; the Punjab patriots who marched towards Delhi were wiped out; the powder factory at Chariwala was blown up; the revolution became a rebellion and the war of liberation a mutiny. The movement had lost its propellers; Delhi was sacked; millions of innocent men, women and children were massacred; the British troops carried fire and sword into hundreds of noble Muslim houses.

Who led the Revolution? The British were convinced that it was a Muslim revolt without Hindu support; as Henry Harrington pointed out in a pamphlet in 1858, "the Hindus were not the contrivers; the primary movers of the rebellion, the Mohammadans, planned and organised the rebellion for their own aggrandizement alone and the Hindu sepoys of the Bengal army were their dupes and

instruments." In fact, Lord Ellenborough wrote in one of his despatches in 1842, "I could not have credited the extent to which the Mohammadans desire our failure . . . the Hindus, on the other hand, are delighted. It seems to me most unwise, when we are sure of the hostility of one-tenth, not to secure the enthusiastic support of the nine-tenth which are faithful. . ." Thus, the Brahmans became 'the most loyal subjects of Her Majesty's Government'; the Musalmans were singled out for a treatment which reduced them to a position of 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' It was then generally believed that 'if any statesman wants to make a sensation in the House of Commons, he has only to truly narrate the history of those Mohammadan families of Bengal". The following excerpts from Hunter's famous book are a lasting testimony on the pitiable plight of Muslims :

"The educated Mohammadan, confident in his old training, sees himself practically excluded from the share of power and of the emoluments of Government which he hitherto had almost monopolised, and sees these and all other advantages of life passed into the hands of the hated Hindus . . .

"Before the country passed under our rule, the Musalmans professed the same faith, ate the same food, and in all essentials lived the same lives, as they do now. To this day they exhibit at intervals their intense feeling of nationality and capability of

warlike enterprise, but in all other respects they are a race ruined under British rule . . .

"A hundred and seventy years ago, it was almost impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to become poor ; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich . . No Mohammadan gentleman of birth can enter our Regiments ; and even if a place could be found for him in our military system, that place would no longer be a source of wealth . . .

"We shut the Musalman aristocracy out of the Army, because we believed that their exclusion was necessary to our own safety. We deprived them of their monopoly of the most lucrative functions in the Administration, because their deprivation was essential . . . But these grounds, however good in themselves, fail to convince an ancient nobility suffering under the blight of British rule . . .

"In one extensive Department the other day it was discovered that there was not a single employee who could read the Musalman dialect ; and, in fact, there is now scarcely a Government office in Calcutta (then headquarters of the Government of India) in which a Mohammadan can hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of inkpots, and mender of pens."

But, the holocaust was not only followed by victimization of Muslims on the economic plane ; the British began to tamper with their religious affairs ;

they wanted to break the spirit of Islam. They financed religious controversies and created schisms in Muslim ranks. The ulema were bribed and congregations were organised to condemn the revolutionaries and paint them as apostates and heretics who had bartered away their faith. The Indian Muslims were without a cause, without a leader and without even hope. It was on this scene of wilderness that Sir Syed Ahmad entered as a savant and saviour and laid the foundations of a movement which won a State after nine decades.

This middle-aged sub-judge, with a scholastic bent of mind, leapt into fame with the publication, in 1847, of *Asar-ul-Sanadid*. His archaeological research into Delhi's old monuments aroused great academic interest but few imagined that he was destined to play a more positive architectural role. If today we assess his services to the cause of Muslim regeneration in India, we would perhaps like to believe that he was a powerful anti-British Muslim leader, but he was more realistic than revolutionary. His realism was based on the realisation that the only way to revitalise the dying Musalmans was to co-operate with the British and the only way to promote this co-operation was to establish "communication" between the "rulers" and the "subjects". The best means of this communication was education —learning the Western languages, arts and sciences.

As Sir Syed Ahmad put it, "I have invariably come to the conclusion that the absence of community of feeling between the two races was due to the absence of the community of ideas and the community of interests. And, gentlemen, I felt equally certain that so long as this state of things continued, the Musalmans of India could make no progress under the English rule. It then appeared to me that nothing could remove these obstacles to progress but education." Sir Syed Ahmad was attacked by some of his co-religionists but today we know that he was right, for no other policy would have saved the Muslims. Sir Syed Ahmad gave them the tools and training to fight the battle that lay ahead. His greatest contribution was the Aligarh University which, in the years to come, became the 'true arsenal of Pakistan'.

Sir Syed's thesis on the causes of the 'Indian revolt' was a blend of truth and courage, an inquisitorial probe into British administrative lapses. He was almost dubbed a seditionist, but the British soon realised the value of the friendly advice he had tendered. Sir Syed deplored the denial of representation to Muslims in the higher councils and pointed out that 'it is highly conducive to welfare of Government that the people should have a voice . . .' As Sir Syed pleaded for representative Government, he became more and more conscious of 'Muslims as

a distinct nation.' According to Hali, his biographer, Sir Syed was convinced that the "Hindus and Musalmans will never be able to unite. The unpleasantness created between the two peoples by educated Hindus is nothing compared to what is coming in the future. With the progressive spread of education among Hindus, there will develop more bitterness between the two peoples."

The prophecy came true; the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century saw the gradual growth of the British-sponsored All-India National Congress. In spite of its Hindu character and complexion, the Muslim masses and leaders liked to associate themselves with an organisation which was pledged to liberate the country from foreign yoke. But it was soon discovered that the Congress was fighting for Hindu freedom alone and its goal of independence would only lead to the perpetual dependence of Muslims on an avowedly anti-Muslim majority community. Sir Syed was the first to realise the danger of merging the political identity of his people with the brute Hindu majority. He even pleaded for an elective system to ensure that Muslims were given separate nomination in the municipal bodies which were created by Lord Ripon because "in a country like India, where caste and religious distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of various races, where education in its

modern sense has not made an equal progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local boards and district councils would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations."

When this demand was revived by the Congress, Sir Syed advanced arguments which almost read like any one of Quaid-i-Azam's statements that the Western type of democracy was not suited to the genius of India. Sir Syed said, "The second demand of the National Congress is that the people should elect a section of the Viceroy's Council. They want to copy the English House of Lords and the House of Commons . . . And let us first suppose that all the Mohammadans vote for a Mohammadan member and all Hindu electors vote for a Hindu member and now count how many votes the Mohammadan member will have and how many the Hindu. It is certain that the Hindu member will have four times as many votes, because their population is four times as numerous . . . It will be like a game of dice, in which one man had four dice and the other only one."

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 had the semblance of a representative government inasmuch as members of legislatures were to be returned by elected bodies and nominated by the Government.

For the first time, Muslims demanded separate representation to the local bodies and councils 'commensurate not merely with their numerical strength but also with their political importance . . .' The birth of the Muslim League in 1906 "to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India" and the Minto-Morley Reforms are marked by this 'right to elect their representatives by separate electorates.'

The partition of Bengal in 1905 and its annulment after six years were followed by the Lucknow Pact in 1916; it presented a united front to the Government and pleaded for constitutional reforms to prepare the country for self-government or Swaraj. Firstly, it was agreed that "no Bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official affecting one or the other community shall be proceeded with, if three-fourth of the members of the community in the particular Council, Imperial and Provincial, opposed the Bill or any clause thereof or the resolution." Secondly, it laid down that "one-third of the Indian elected members should be Mohammadans, elected by separate electorates in the several provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as might be, in which they were represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Mohammadan electorates." These clauses were incorporated in the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms,

but the agitation that followed the India Act of 1919 soon degenerated into Hindu-Muslim riots. The political scene was dominated by Gandhi and Ali Brothers; the Hindu leaders exploited the Muslim Khilafat sentiments and boosted the Swadeshi movement. But it was soon found that they were working to replace the British Kingdom by Hindudom; the face of Hindu communalism had turned militant and the Shudhi movement was in full swing. Thus, all unity efforts failed, because no basic unity ever existed. The Simon Commission, Jinnah's Fourteen Points, the Nehru Report, and the Round Table Conference—all these subsequent political landmarks assumed a communal character because the Hindus could not conceal their contempt for Muslim nationalist aspirations; they were determined to strike a bania bargain and establish permanent rule of the majority community.

At last, the sage showed the way; poet Iqbal, who became the President of the Allahabad session of the All-India Muslim League in 1930, demanded a country within a country—a sovereign Muslim State carved out of India. After relating the genesis of the demand, he declared : "· · · The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries. India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages and professing different religions . . . The principle of

European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified... I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire and the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of Muslims. The idea need not alarm the Hindus or the British. India is the greatest Muslim country in the world. The life of Islam as a cultural force in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory. It will intensify their sense of responsibility and deepen their patriotic feeling. Thus possessing full opportunity of development within the body-politic of India, the North-West Indian Muslims will prove the best defenders of India against a foreign invasion, be the invasion one of ideas or of bayonets.

"I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interest of India and Islam. For India, it means security and peace resulting from an internal balance of power; for Islam an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, its education, its culture, and to

bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with the spirit of the modern times."

The Hindu Press howled and called it 'freak of a poet's wayward imagination'; the Hindu leaders yelled and called it a blasphemous idea whose progenitors were either lunatics or traitors. Meanwhile, Jinnah, the most disillusioned man, who had not only left the Congress but left the country and had temporarily settled in London, returned to India. According to Allama Iqbal, Jinnah was "the only Muslim in India to whom the community has a right to look up for safe guidance.' With the fire and faith of a Lincoln, the courage and conviction of a Napoleon, the shrewdness and statesmanship of a Disraeli, Jinnah rose like a mountain which overshadowed his worst detractors. He reorganised the Muslim League, fought the Hindu Congress, challenged the British diehards and exposed the Muslim stooges. He demolished the fiction that the Congress and the British Government were the only two parties in the country; the Muslim League emerged as the only representative and authoritative organisation to speak for Muslim India. The Muslim League had not adopted Pakistan as its constitutional goal but, after 1937, it had won all the bye-elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures. The Congress also won the elections, but at what

cost? As Dr. Ambedkar put it, "On the Congress side there were massed all the sinews of war, money and organisation . . . The non-Congress candidates were represented by the Congress Press as the showboys of the British, with no record of service to or sacrifice for the country, agents of British Imperialism, enemies of the country, job-hunters, fellows out to sell the interest of the country for a mess of pottage and so on."

Nehru seemed to be so deliriously happy and claimed that "there are two parties in the country, the Congress and the British." Mr. Jinnah lost no time in issuing a rejoinder : "There is a third party, namely, the Muslims. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody. We are willing to co-operate with any group of a progressive and independent character provided its programme and policy correspond to our own. We are not going to be camp-followers of any party. We are ready to work as equal partners for the welfare of India." The 30-month Hindu Congress rule in seven Indian Provinces under the Government of India Act, 1935, proved to be the last nail in the coffin of united India. The Congress excesses committed during this period left little hope of communal settlement. The 'Ram Raj' over, the Muslim League observed a 'Day of Deliverance' and Jinnah declared that "the Muslims can expect neither justice nor fairplay under the

Congress Government . . . English parliamentary government with its emphasis on majority rule and the maintenance of a strong Central Government would permanently subject Muslims to the Congress and was therefore unsuited to India." On December 22 hundreds of meetings were held all over the country to express a "deep sense of relief at the termination of the Congress regime in various provinces," and condemn their rule of "tyranny, oppression and injustice during the last two and a half years . . ."

The Congress leaders began to see a horizon of Hindu hegemony over the subcontinent; they thought it was beginning of Vedic renaissance and the end of all anti-Brahman elements. The Vidhya Mandir scheme initiated by the Congress was designed to revive the illusion of India's cultural homogeneity, propagate the concept of a common nationality and deprive the Muslims of their awareness as a separate people. It was an ingenious and insidious attempt to operate upon the Muslim mind, conduct education under the spell of Hindu mantras and tantras and ensure our intellectual emasculation before the transfer of power. Thus, Bande Matram was loved as a national song because it symbolised their hatred of Muslim

rule. Shivaji, Govind Singh and Banda Bairagi were deified as national heroes because they fought against the Muslims. The Wardha Scheme conceived by Gandhi was still more sinister and subtle in its cultural consequences for the Muslims.

Thus, the *kultur kampf* became more and more discernible ; the gulf could not be spanned by constitutional bridges. The so-called 'safeguards', 'concessions', 'weightages' and even 'separate electorates' were no substitute for a sovereign State ; there could be no compromise except on the basis of a clear-out partition. At the historic Lahore session of the League, the representatives of Muslim India demanded Pakistan because "no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, *viz.*, that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial adjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute independent States in which the constituted units shall be autonomous and sovereign."

The die was cast ; the goal was set ; the choice was 'Pakistan or perish.' From this day, the struggle acquired a dynamic meaning ; a hundred million hearts were beating in unison; the whole nation paced

together and took one big step towards Pakistan. The enemy thrust its weapons at all fronts but the nation marched together, from strength to strength, from victory to victory. Pakistan was no longer an embryonic idea ; it was the political objective of a people who stood up and spoke with one voice : "We are a nation. We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test of a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million, and what is more we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitude and ambitions, in short, we have our distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law, we are a Nation."

After exactly two years of the Pakistan Resolution, Sir Stafford Cripps arrived in India with a Draft Declaration conceding 'the right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position ... With such non-acceding provinces, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as Indian Union." For the Congress leaders it was a road to Pakistan, though they turned down the offer on the plea that representatives of Princely

States should be elected and not nominated and an Indian should be appointed to the Defence portfolio. The War had entered the third year; Gandhi thought that it was "a post-dated cheque on a bank which is obviously failing." But it was more a bankruptcy of Hindu statesmanship ; they would not accept anything which tended to consider the Muslims more than a minority.

The failure of the Cripps mission and ban on the Congress organisation was followed by a period of lull which was broken by C. Rajgopalacharia's formula, exhorting the Muslims to accept a compromise 'enabling them jointly to assault the imperial citadel.' The stalemate continued till Lord Wavell, the new Viceroy and Governor-General, broadcast his plan on 14 June, 1945, inviting the Indian leaders to form 'a new Executive Council with more representatives of organised political opinion' in order to 'prosecute the war against Japan with utmost energy' and to carry on the Government 'with the manifold possibility of post-war development in front of it.' It was a parity formula promising equal representation to Muslims and caste Hindus in the Executive Council. But, it was an illusory offer as, after the inclusion of representatives belonging to Sikhs, Scheduled Castes and Christians, the League share could not be more than one-third in the Central Government. What is more, the

Congress claimed two seats for 'nationalist Muslims' and Lord Wavell pleaded for including a member from Khizar Hayat's Punjab coterie. It was an impossible proposition ; Quaid-i-Azam refused to sign 'the death warrant of the League' and declared that "no power on earth shall make him acquiesce in a settlement which is against the interest of Islam." Thus, the Simla Conference foundered on the rock of Hindu intransigence. The only way out of the impasse was to hold elections ; let Muslims vote and give their verdict, demanded Quaid-i-Azam. The poll day was a victory day; the Muslim League bagged all the Central seats. A majority of Muslim seats in provincial legislatures were also won by the League ; in Assam, 31 out of 34, in Sind, 29 out of 34, in the Frontier, 17 out of 30, in the Punjab, 79 out of 86, in Bengal, 112 out of 119, in U.P. 54 out of 66, in Bihar, 36 out of 40, in Madras, 29 out of 29, in Bombay, 30 out of 30. In C.P. and Orissa, the non-League candidates could not capture a single Muslim seat. The Hindu leaders went into tantrums ; and Sardar Patel burst out in a statement : "The Muslim League has captured all the Muslim seats and it may celebrate victory day and believe that Pakistan has been achieved. But Pakistan cannot be achieved in this manner. Pakistan is not in the hands of British Government. If Pakistan is to be achieved, Hindus and Muslims will have to fight. There will be civil war. The Congress has decided

not to approach the League till it changes its policy. It can take by force whatever it wants. The Congress will again form ministries in the Provinces. We will then see where Pakistan stands. It will be time then to celebrate victory day."

But these furious fulminations led nowhere; these threats and thunders served only one purpose—the gulf widened, the antagonism grew and Hindus and Muslims became more and more separate identities. Every attempt to hit the Muslims proved a boomerang; every attempt to belittle the League made it stronger; every attempt to force a merger created now cleavages; every attempt to divide the nation welded its broken parts; every attempt to pull down Jinnah raised his stature; every move to weaken the Pakistan movement made it mightier; every hostile act became a favourable factor; more the opposition, more the passion for the partition of India. It was no longer a Congress-League question; it was an open Hindu-Muslim communal conflict which clearly pointed to the inevitability of division.

The British Government sent a Parliamentary Delegation to India to make a political reconnaissance of the country. On 25 March, 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived 'with the intention of using their utmost endeavours to help her to attain her freedom as speedily and as fully as possible.' But, even before the nature of their assignment was

explained to the leaders of political parties, the British Premier declared that no minority would be encouraged to hold up India's progress towards independence. Unaware of the "tragic realities of the Indian political scene" Attlee was reported to have remarked: "We are very mindful of the rights of minorities and minorities should be able to live free from fear. On the other hand, we cannot allow a minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority." Quick came Jinnah's reply: "The issue is, to give a simile, walk into my parlour said the spider to the fly, and if the fly refuses it is said that a veto is being exercised and the fly is being intransigent."

Attlee's announcement was hailed by Hindu leaders as a slap in the face of the League, a surrender to the majority community and even recognition of India's geographical unity. The Muslim League leaders challenged the statement and sought clarification before the Mission could proceed with the work. A conference had to be called at Simla but, as in the past, the talks were deadlocked by the Congress. The Cabinet Mission had to make its own recommendations; on 16 May, 1946 they issued a statement which became the starting point of an interminable battle of interpretations.

Firstly, the Cabinet Mission conceded 'the possibility of a partition of India', that they were 'greatly impressed by the very genuine and acute anxiety of the Muslims lest they should find themselves subjected to perpetual Hindu majority rule,' that 'this feeling has become very strong and widespread amongst the Muslims and cannot be allayed by mere paper safeguards' and if there is to be internal peace in India 'it must be secured by measures which will assure to the Muslims a control in all matters vital to their culture, religion and economic or other interests which might become submerged in a purely unitary India in which the Hindus with their greatly superior number must be a dominant element.' Secondly, they envisaged a plan for dividing India into three groups : (A) Hindu majority provinces ; (B) Muslim majority provinces ; (C) Bengal and Assam. These groups were to handle all the subjects except defence, communications and foreign affairs ; the three constituent assemblies of these groups were to draw up their own constitutions and, ultimately, the members were to meet in one constituent assembly to frame a constitution for the Indian Union. The Hindus were so sure of League's rejection of the plan that they not only welcomed it but began to believe that the dream of Pakistan had been blown up. It is strange they did not realize that the redeeming feature of the plan was

the compulsory grouping clause and the option given to these groups to leave the Union after ten years. According to the Congress, the provinces could not be compelled to join this or that group and the constituent assembly was a sovereign body, competent to modify the plan and even change its basic structure in the years to come. The Mission members were asked to throw light on these points; the League Council which met on June 6 endorsed the plan and agreed to work it. It had been laid down in the plan that 'it could either be accepted as a whole or rejected as a whole' and, secondly, if any party rejected the plan, 'the Viceroy would proceed with the execution of the plan and form an interim government with the help of the co-operating party.' The Congress had rejected the plan; the League accepted the plan; but the League was not asked to form the interim government. This betrayal was not only followed by a caretaker administration of official nominees but an invitation to Pandit Nehru to form an interim Government.

It was insult to injury; the League was by passed. It was breach of faith; the Viceroy had eaten his solemn words and gone back on the August declaration. It was a sop to Hindu India; but the action proved to be more than mere appeasement of the majority community. The Muslim League's decision to observe August 16 as 'Direct Action Day'

and September 1 as 'Black Day' to register their protest against the treatment meted out to them was a signal for communal violence and mass massacre of Muslims in Calcutta, Bombay, Bihar, Garmukteswar and other places. The Great Calcutta Killing was described by a foreign observer as "an outburst of an explosion. Calcutta Muslims, like those in the rest of Muslim India, made a programme to observe a Day.

As usual, a complete hartal was to be observed from that day. Muslims were to march in a peaceful procession and converge at a huge maidan within the town where a meeting was to be held. When, on the appointed day, Muslims in their thousands marched out, many of them carrying little children along with them, Calcutta was suddenly shaken. Armed gangs of Hindus and Sikhs fell on Muslims. They attacked Muslim localities now depleted of male members. The details of this mass slaughter are too harrowing and too revolting to be recalled. The idea behind this planned, well-organised and sudden attack was to demoralise the Muslims once for all." On the testimony of another foreign writer, "Garmukteswar, a small town in the vicinity of Meerut, where Hindu pilgrims in their thousands had assembled at a holy annual festival, was the scene of sudden onslaught on the handful of Muslims who had set up their shops at this fair.

Not a woman or a child was spared." Referring to the atrocities in Bihar, Sir Francis Tuker wrote: "During October and November, in Bihar . . . . great mobs of Hindus turned suddenly, but with every preparation for the deed, upon the few Muslims who had lived and whose forefathers had lived, in amity and trust all their lives, among these very Hindu neighbours . . . . The number of Muslim dead men, women and children, in this short, savage killing, was about seven thousand to eight thousand. In the United Provinces even pregnant women were ripped up, their unborn babies torn out and the infants' brains dashed out on walls and on the ground. There was rape, and women and children were seized by the legs by burly fiends and torn apart . . ."

Meanwhile, the League had accepted Wavell's offer to join the Central Government, but there was no end to communal frenzy. The principal towns in the Punjab were ablaze; the Unionist Khizar Hayat Khan was invited to form a ministry even though the Muslim League constituted the largest single party in the Assembly. As the civil disobedience movement against the Government gained momentum, Khizar Hayat resigned and Khan of Mamdot was asked to form the ministry. The Akali leader, Master Tara Singh, was so rudely shaken by the prospects of Pakistan that brandishing his kirpan outside the Assembly hall he exclained, "the time has

come when the might of the sword alone shall rule. The Sikhs are ready. We are to bring the Muslims to their senses." Another Sikh leader shouted "the crusade starts. Hundred years from today our yellow flag was flying on the fort of Lahore. The same flag shall fly again." The volcano had erupted; the flames were going up and the fire spreading; the demon of communalism was on the march. Lord Wavell was recalled and Lord Mountbatten arrived in India as the last British Viceroy. All talk of unity had died down; there was no alternative to Pakistan. The June 3 plan envisaged the transfer of power to two constituent assemblies and appointed a boundary commission for demarcation purposes. Before Pakistan was formally inaugurated as a sovereign State on 14 August 1947, the Hindu leaders had their last misfire; they tried to assure the whole world that the new State would starve before long. But, Hindu forebodings proved lies and Jinnah surprised the cynics who thought that Pakistan was a megalomaniac's idea.

In August 1967, Pakistan will be two-decade old and yet, in 1966, some foreigners snarlingly ask: Could India not be kept unpartitioned? Was the splitting of the country unavoidable? They like to believe that there would have been no Pakistan if there had been no 'mistakes' during the last years of British rule in India.

Conceding, for a moment, that it was not a triangular tussle and the British wanted to maintain their neutrality, could Pakistan be forestalled by the Congress High Command? Could Muslims be persuaded to vote for a united India, if the Hindu leaders had shown wisdom and tolerance? The inference is that the Muslim League was not inseparably wedded to the Pakistan ideal and the alternative to partition was not impossibly difficult to find. The Cabinet Mission plan, accepted by the Muslim League, is often cited to prove that the demand for Pakistan was only a bargaining lever to strike a better deal with the majority community.

Thus, they attribute the creation of Pakistan to 'mistakes' committed by the Congress from 1937 to 1942. The Hindu leaders refused to submit to any test of forbearance; they failed to read the danger signal; and chose to tread 'the barren path of non-cooperation.' Without going into the details of this academic debate, the stark fact stands out that the Congress was so dazed by the flavour of a Hindu majority rule under the British system of Parliamentary democracy that they had to commit 'blunders' and prove the inevitability of Pakistan. The communal cleavage had left no choice; the Muslims resisted because they had no place in the Hindu-administered India.

Pakistan has come to stay, but some old civil servants in British India still desparingly hope for some 'form of political union.' As he recalls the partition days, Penderal Moon, ruefully foresees that "the longer India and Pakistan remain separate foreign states, the more they must tend to grow apart" and resist any kind of re-union. But, even if India and Pakistan develop personalities of their own, should they not try to cultivate normal neighbourly relations? The fact is that Hindu India is as unrepentent as ever, and years of independent existence have produced a new chasm and put a prohibitive price on the pursuit of peace; the fatal 'mistakes' they committed when they could perhaps avoid the division of the country are not being retrieved up to this day as subsequent chapters of this book will serve to show.

The conspiracy to undo Pakistan was born with the agreement to partition the country; the Hindu leaders feverishly worked for a minimum time-lag between the inception and end of the new State. Thus, the year 1947 witnessed a rain of slings and arrows; there was no regular army or armour to defend Pakistan; it was sheer faith which fortified the hearts of a people striving to win the second round of the battle.

CHAPTER II

SLINGS AND ARROWS

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According to June 3 plan, Pakistan was to come into being within 70 days. All proposals to postpone partition to June 1948 were rejected for fear of a bigger catastrophe. Even the counsel of 'hasten slowly' was not heeded because, according to Mountbatten school of thought, there could be no delay in the transfer of power as 'the existing administration could not survive' until the next year. Mr. Leonard Mosley thinks that even though "the situation was becoming beyond control", the British Government could still avoid the blunders—and bloodshed. Why, for instance, "Partition in May, and Independence in August, but a people desperate to know deliberately kept in ignorance of which country they belonged to until two days *after Independence*."

Was the decision to advance the date by ten months a British error of judgment or Hindu spiders' net-work or a conspiracy to ensure the birth of Pakistan as a stillborn child ? It is not pleasant to recall these events in retrospect ; perhaps more documentary evidence is required to establish whether the final decision was a political master stroke or a recipe for disaster.

The Day of Destiny had come; a State was born; a nation found a homeland; Pakistan was no longer a vision but a reality. Referring to this 'epoch-making event', a former British Secretary of State said: "If we look at the course of history, what new nation was born in happier circumstances, for Pakistan has come into being as a result of mutual agreement and consent instead of emerging like the majority of modern nations after years of civil or international strife". But this congratulatory message assumed a sinister import as we discovered a 'maimed and mutilated' Pakistan. The Radcliffe Award, demarcating boundaries between the two countries, unleashed disruptive forces which few could foresee. It was 'territorial murder'; the decisions embodied in the three reports materially altered the boundaries as set forth under the notional division; the Indian Union was the gainer and Pakistan the loser. The Chairman of the Boundary Commission was openly accused of going beyond his terms of reference and the Award was universally condemned as unjust, unfair, unwise and one-sided, a parting kick of the British, a violence against the principles of contiguous majority areas and an open invitation to war between India and Pakistan. The first bitter fruit of the so-called Award was mass evacuation, though it was decided at an inter-Dominion conference held on 19 September, 1947 that "it was the policy of both Governments to create and maintain conditions

in which the minorities could live in security." The exchange of population was never envisaged by Partition; but 'agreed arrangement' did not suit India and 'as a matter of policy' Indian leaders planned a genocide of Muslims and executed 'a deep-laid conspiracy in utter disregard of the principles of honesty, chivalry and honour'. The inevitable happened ; millions had to flee from their homes and seek refuge in Pakistan. It was perhaps the biggest migratory movement in recorded history. It was like a hungry thirsty sea of men, women and children passing perilously through a vast unchartered jungle, infested by wild beasts and surrounded by snakes and scorpions, gripped by fear, dreaded by enemies, scared by treacherous turns, haunted by spectres, leaping from crag to crag, dodging danger after danger, till they reached the haven of rest. . . Referring to this exodus which, in fact, was a war of extermination, Quaid-i-Azam warned, "Time and history will also record its verdict on those whose treachery and machinations let loose forces of disorder and disruption in this subcontinent causing the death of lakhs, enormous destruction of property and bringing about suffering and misery to millions by uprooting them from their homes and hearths and all that was dear to them. The systematic massacre of defenceless and innocent people puts to shame even the most heinous atrocities committed by the worst tyrants known to history."

Having done all this, the Indian leaders clamoured for war against Pakistan as they had 'enough of resources and more than enough of manpower.' Others pleaded for "economic sanctions" and "retaliatory measures", short of war. What is more they told the marooned Muslims that "the State could not protect them with their police and army." But these threats cut no ice; the spirit of the people triumphed; Pakistan survived in spite of 'unparalleled difficulties and untold suffering.'

Wrapped in swaddling clothes, Pakistan found that a barricade had been erected at every strategic point. The refugees were pouring; baggage trains were burnt; means of communications were dislocated; trade and commerce had come to a standstill; and the administrative machinery nearly broke down. It was such a serious situation that "the entire structure of the State might have crumbled down."

Some old British administrators in India who were in a position of authority during the transfer of power and a few Western writers who later visited the subcontinent have tried to give a factual account of this 'historic event of lasting significance'. They had no need for special brushes and colour boxes to paint the picture of Pakistan during the dark months that followed partition. What they reported was not even a commentary on the state of the new

nation but a simple pencil sketch of a people struggling to save the country in the face of a Hindu-propelled steamroller.

As Keith Callard put it, "The new India suffered in the transition but Pakistan was virtually shattered. Pakistan consisted of half of Bengal, without its capital and major city; half of the Punjab where the capital city was devastated by fire and riot. The whole structure of government had to be improvised."

According to Mr. Michael Edwardes, "Attacks on trains carrying Muslim refugees had increased and even British officers who had formerly been spared because of their white skin, were now being killed with their men."

Mr. Richard Weekes observes: "As if the violent emotions generated by partition were not enough, the realities of economics seemed even more calamitous. Pakistan's two wings had no industry of significance, they had poor transportation, little electric power, and few administrators and technicians. What little economic strength existed was largely sapped by collisions with India and the demands of the refugees."

"The Statesman", New Delhi, reported "flight of capital from Lahore as the evacuee Hindus had drained Pakistan of their assets totalling rupees ninety lacs. It was yet another move to hasten the day of Pakistan's bankruptcy . . ."

Mr. Lumby writes: "The leaders of Pakistan seem to have been genuinely afraid that their new State was in danger of being strangled at birth, and that every move on the part of India was deliberately aimed at her destruction. Liaquat Ali Khan asserted that Pakistan was 'surrounded on all sides by forces which were out to destroy her'; and Jinnah more than once spoke of her as the victim of a deep-laid and well-planned conspiracy."

Lord Birdwood lamented: "The dividing of resources, of the Civil Services and, alas, of a great Army, had to be driven forward at a speed which, though it commanded admiration as conveying to all concerned a sense of vitality, inevitably resulted in the emergence of the new State of Pakistan in the utmost confusion."

In a letter to the British Prime Minister, dated September 28, 1947, Auchinleck wrote:

"I have no hesitation whatever in affirming that the present India Cabinet are implacably determined to do all in their power to prevent the establishment of the Dominion of Pakistan on a firm basis.

"Since August 15, however, the situation has steadily deteriorated and the Indian leaders, Cabinet Ministers, Civil officials and others have persistently tried to obstruct the work of partition of the Armed Forces. I and my officers have been continuously and virulently accused of being pro-Pakistan and partial, whereas the truth is that we have merely tried to do our duty impartially and without fear, favour or affection.

"The authors of it are too strongly imbued with the implacable determination to remove anything which is likely to prevent their gaining their own ends, which are to prevent Pakistan receiving her just share, or indeed anything of arsenals and depots in India. This is an open secret."

Here is an authentic report from Pakistani Commander of Karachi in August 1947: "Thanks to bad staff work of my predecessor, a British General, all the Ordnance Depots were completely empty, for he had allowed all ammunition, war stores and vehicles, etc., to go to India. They had even commenced demolishing the barracks in Malir Cantonment but I stopped it. Was it a wilful sabotage? The military hospitals had been

ransacked. The buildings were there to show what magnificent institutions they must have been when they were in use. While I was inspecting the dockyards reserved for military stores, I found small arms ammunition being loaded in lorries. On inquiry I found that they were being loaded to be shipped and later dumped into the sea. I cancelled the orders and thus saved 30,000,000 cartridges for the rifles. I was also told that twice as much had already been sunk—at a time when we could get no ammunition from the United Kingdom and India had refused to let us have our share."

India used every weapon in her armoury to stifle Pakistan, though each time she tried to hit, she was hit back like a ball bounced by the sheer force of reaction. When India had her fling and Pakistan did not crash, she came out with the last arrow in her quiver. "With all the wealth of argument and detail, which malice could invent or ill-will devise", the Indian leaders predicted 'that Pakistan would be left bankrupt and what the fire and sword of the enemy could not achieve, would be brought about by the ruined finances of the State'. They hoped that 'economic manoeuvres' would strangle the new State because the liquid financial resources of Pakistan had touched the lowest level.

It will be recalled that at the time of partition Pakistan had initially received Rs. 20 crores as a working balance and its share of the undivided assets was to be fixed later. Following a financial agreement with India this share was fixed at Rs. 75 crores.

As Pakistan had already received 20 crores, the balance of 55 crores was due to be paid in December 1947. But reports emanating from New Delhi said that the implementation of the recent agreement arrived at between the two Dominions about the division of assets and liabilities and the immediate payment of Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan would depend on a 'satisfactory solution of the Kashmir affair.' It was naked coercion clothed as a bait which was spurned. Pakistan suffered a loss of Rs. 55 crores rather than sign the Kashmir sale deed in favour of India. It was pointed out that 'the agreement recently arrived at between the two Dominions has nothing to do with the settlement of the Kashmir or any other political problem and that if the Government of India go back on their pledged word they would be guilty of a gross breach of faith."

Unable to dent Pakistan's resolute stand on the Kashmir issue, India manoeuvred to secure the State's accession nine weeks after partition. It was not only a cold-blooded conspiracy to create a situation which should clear the decks for India's annexation of Kashmir but turned out to be a well-laid anti-Pakistan plot.

According to the Indian Independence Act, paramountcy of His Majesty's Government over the Indian Princely States was to lapse on 15 August,

1947, when the subcontinent was partitioned and two sovereign States came into being. The States were given the option to accede to India or Pakistan. But, this legal aspect apart, Lord Mountbatten, the last British Viceroy and Governor-General of India, advised the rulers of the States to decide the accession issue after duly considering the geographical location of their States, the communal composition of their population, economic and allied factors, and the wishes of their people. Thus, it was expected that Kashmir would naturally and automatically accede to Pakistan, not only because the people and political parties in the State supported this accession, but it was thought that any other course of action would lead to calamitous consequences. All factors were in favour of accession to Pakistan; but the Maharaja behaved and acted differently. He ignored geographical considerations, disregarded the communal character of the population, spurned the wishes of his people and forgot all the natural factors that made Kashmir and West Pakistan an indivisible economic unit. The Maharaja was playing with fire; he was told by Lord Mountbatten to accede in time, that is, before August 15. But he began to mark time, prolong the matter and did not even take the risk of discussing the question with those who might persuade him to let his State accede to Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten visited Kashmir in the third week of June and, as the chronicler of his mission

puts it, "when he got there he found the Maharaja politically very elusive . . . The Maharaja suggested that the meeting should take place on the last day of the visit, to which Mountbatten agreed, feeling that this would allow him the maximum chance to make up his mind, but when the time came the Maharaja sent a message that he was in bed with colic and would be unable to attend the meeting. It seems that this is his usual illness when he wishes to avoid difficult discussions."

There are at least five reasons to believe that he avoided discussion because, from the very beginning, he had no intention of acceding to Pakistan and, what is more, the Indian leaders knew it and encouraged him to play this perilous game of procrastination.

(1) Instead of acceding immediately to Pakistan he concluded a standstill agreement with it. It was a lure to serve the purpose of a lull—to create a false sense of security among the Muslims who were made to believe that the agreement was the first step towards Kashmir's ultimate accession to Pakistan.

(2) Meanwhile, the Maharaja acquired the services of R.S.S. gangs and other militant Hindu and Sikh groups to comb the State of all pro-Pakistan elements before he announced accession to India.

(3) During this period Gandhi and other Congress leaders visited Srinagar, and met the Maharaja.

These mysterious moves later confirmed Pakistan's suspicions that there were no gentlemanly negotiations to decide what was right and proper to do in the circumstances but that the stage was being set for a shady bargain with the Hindu Congress leaders to be announced at the appropriate psychological moment.

(4) Furthermore, during these weeks, it was reported that "the Kashmir Government has confirmed the news that it is linking the State, via Pathankot, with the East Punjab, and throwing a bridge over the River Ravi... every effort is being made to render the State independent of the two existing arteries of communications that link Kashmir with the outside world. Both of these run through Pakistan."

(5) The indecent haste with which the Government of India accepted the accession offer conclusively proved their complicity in this premeditated plan. The Indian National Congress had always held the view that 'on the lapse of paramountcy sovereign rights in Indian States should revert to the people," and it was for this reason that they opposed Junagadh's accession to Pakistan.

All these facts were revealed not only by the reports that reached Pakistan during those momentous months but by the dispatches sent by foreign correspondents to their newspapers.

It is often asked why and how Lord Mountbatten accepted the responsibility for Kashmir's accession to India, in spite of his known views on the subject. "Why, for example", it is asked, "did he advise that Indian military assistance to the Maharaja must be covered by the legal technicality of accession? How could he have reasoned that it would be illegal for Kashmir (which was at the time of invasion technically an independent country) to ask for military help from India without preceding the request by accession? He must have assumed that Pakistan Government would refuse in any case to recognise the legality of such accession brought about without prior determination of the will of the Kashmiri people. He must have known that if war over this issue were to develop between these two Dominions, it would not be on the basis of the legality of such a method of accession, but rather over the fact itself. Why was there at this point no appeal made to the United Nations from either the technically independent Government of Kashmir or from Delhi? The record reveals no hint that such a possibility was even mentioned. But, finally, it is most difficult to understand why no one, particularly Mountbatten, advanced the most obvious idea, that of immediately getting into contact with the Karachi Government for consultation."

And, yet, when the Muslim ruler of Junagadh offered accession of his State to Pakistan, the Governor-General of India lost no time in reminding the Pakistan Government of the 'principles' embodied in June 3 plan. In a letter dated 22 September, 1947, Lord Mountbatten wrote : "Such acceptance of accession by Pakistan cannot but be regarded by the Government of India as an encroachment on India's sovereignty and territory. This is a clear attempt to cause disruption in the integrity of India by extending influence and boundaries of Dominion of Pakistan in utter violation of principles on which partition was agreed upon and effected'. Again Lord Mountbatten warned the Maharaja of Jodhpur against the "consequences of his doing so (opting for Pakistan), having regard to the fact that he himself was a Hindu".

The Maharaja's act of accession to India was the beginning of a life or death struggle for Pakistan. The Maharaja's fateful decision to accede to India was an open invitation to bullet, though even before he took this action his intentions were known and the people had risen in revolt and formed a free Government of their own. But his formal and fraudulent offer of accession to India was a signal for a popular upheaval, the start of a mighty freedom movement. The smouldering embers burst into a

flame of rebellion when the British quit the sub-continent and India and Pakistan were born as two independent States. The hour had struck, the time was ripe ; the State was seething with discontent ; the people were ready to resist ; and when the Maharaja's men asked Muslims to surrender arms, the choice was between life and death. The Kashmiri veterans and ex-servicemen of the Second World War became the spearhead of the struggle, and small resistance groups began to grow everywhere. The Maharaja was alarmed by the reports of civil disobedience in Poonch and the complete rout of the Dogra troops in Mirpur, Muzaffarabad and Bagh. With the arrival of tribal warriors and Punjab volunteers, the Azad Kashmir forces were reinforced and it became an all-out fight. The panicky Maharaja flew from Srinagar and took shelter in Jammu.

But, as the movement gained momentum, more and more Muslims were either massacred or driven to Pakistan borders. It was confirmed that "the Muslim personnel of the State military and police were either diarmed or arrested ; several high officials were dismissed and hundreds of political workers were put behind the bars; in Baramula and Rampur, many people were shot dead on the suspicion that they were welcoming the armies of liberation ; a reign of terror had

been let loose against the Muslims who were being killed by the Sikhs, Hindus, and State troops, supported by R.S.S. brigands, who had come to Kashmir for this specific purpose." According to a survey published in "The Times," London, "2,37,000 Muslims were systametically exterminated unless they escaped to Pakistan along the border by the forces of the Dogra State, headed by the Maharaja of Kashmir in person and aided by Hindus and Sikhs".

As this communal carnage was on, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, suggested three steps to effect a peaceful settlement of the dispute, at a meeting with Lord Mountbatten on November 1.

"1. To put an immediate stop to fighting ; the two Governors-General should be authorised and vested with full powers by both Dominion Governments to issue a proclamation forthwith giving forty-eight hours' notice to the two opposing forces to cease fire. We have no control over the forces of the Provisional (Azad) Government of Kashmir or the tribesmen engaged in the fighting, but we will warn them in the clearest terms that if they do not obey the order to cease fire immediately the forces of both Dominions will make war on them.

"2. Both the forces of Indian Dominion and the tribesmen to withdraw simultaneously and with the utmost expedition from Jammu and Kashmir State territory.

"3. With the sanction of the two Dominion Governments, the two Governors-General to be given full powers to restore peace, undertake the administration of Jammu and Kashmir State, and arrange for a plebiscite without delay under their joint control and supervision."

It is not known for what reason Lord Mountbatten expressed his inability to accept the proposal.

Thus, there was no end to bloodshed and Muslim refugees continued to pour into Pakistan. But in April, 1948, there was a sudden shift in the scene when the Indian troops began a blitzkrieg with the avowed object of destroying all opposition and making the occupation of the State 'an accomplished fact.' They were reported to be within striking distance of the Jhelum canal headworks, situated near the Pakistan border. Thus, in May 1948, the Pakistan troops entered the Azad Kashmir territory as a purely defensive measure to ward off any possible Indian inroads into Pakistan.

As the Kashmir issue was hanging fire, India opened yet another front and Pakistan suddenly

found itself fighting another battle—the battle for water. When the hot weather was setting in, the "engineers in charge of the headworks situated in East Punjab turned off the taps," and the Bari Doab canal which supplied water to Lahore district dried up. An inter-Dominion conference had to be hurriedly held in New Delhi to settle "Pakistan's riparian and irrigation rights." Pakistan claimed that the rivers of the subcontinent which irrigate lands in both the Dominions "are the common property of the two Dominions," but India claimed to control all the rivers of Indus basin. What made the situation still graver was India's declared plans and projects to appropriate the whole supply by an elaborate system of link canals in East Punjab, with nothing but dry river beds for Pakistan. Particularly, the issues raised by India about the distribution of the waters of two Eastern rivers (Ravi and Sutlej) confronted Pakistan with a situation which could shatter our economy to pieces.

Thus, the circumstances that accompanied the partition of the subcontinent is a story of a series of attempts to undo Pakistan before it became strong and stable. Boundary line questions, evacuee property issues, trade barriers, withholding our due share in undivided India's libraries, museums, official records, railway stores, ordnance factories and finally the Kashmir and canal water disputes—all these were

understood to be vital ingredients of a design to make Pakistan ripe for ruin.

As the whirligig of time does not stop spinning, the smaller disputes have either been settled or forgotten; thanks to the good offices of the World Bank, the treaty signed by India and Pakistan has allocated the use and share of Indus Basin rivers and thus resolved the canal-waters problem.

But there was no end to bitterness and rancour ; the subcontinent seemed to wear a shadow of death; every spell of peace exposed the lurking dangers; every promise of an entente deepened the crisis; every step forward had a retrogressive pull; every move to reduce the area of conflict added a new dimension to the blazing emotions ; at last the sunshine disappeared, the clouds burst and the simmering situation erupted into a full-scale war in September 1965.

As Kashmir has become a kingpin in Indo-Pakistan relations, let me deal with this dispute before I resume the thread.

CHAPTER III

THE KASHMIR KINGPIN

THE KASHMIR KINGPIN

The people of Kashmir are being ruled against their will. They have been rightly called an enslaved and betrayed people. They have been given no choice to determine their political future. They were promised a plebiscite; Pakistan insists on it ; the Security Council is committed to it ; the world Press demands it ; but India does not want it. India's emphatic 'No' to every plebiscite proposal represents a complete *volte face* as she had initially agreed to any democratic arrangement suggested to elicit the popular vote of the people of Jammu and Kashmir on the question of accession.

In November 1947, the Pakistan Prime Minister proposed that as "the fundamental principle of the charter of the United Nations is to prevent might prevailing over right, the whole dispute should be brought before the bar of international opinion. We are ready to request the United Nations Organisation immediately to appoint its representative in the Jammu and Kashmir State . . . " It was a straight offer, which Nehru did not accept. But within 13 months, India referred the dispute to Security Council as a complainant, and Nehru expressed

readiness "to have referendum held under international auspices like the United Nations."

India was so sure of the legal validity of the Maharaja's doubtful act of accession that, on January 1, 1948, she referred the matter to the Security Council. On Maharaja's frantic requests, it was said, India agreed to accept accession, but circumstances compelled Nehru to declare that "the fate of Kashmir is ultimately to be decided by the people ; that pledge we have given not only to the people of Kashmir, but to the world ; we will not and cannot back out of it." But, in Nehru's case, time did not prove a healer or a corrector ; the nine weeks that passed between the accession and reference to the Security Council changed the basic attitude of India's Prime Minister towards a dispute which had engulfed the whole valley in a bloody civil war. With the advent of winter, the fighting slowed down and Nehru began to dream of India's permanent occupation of Kashmir. With a pose of injured innocence, Nehru knocked at the door of the Security Council like the victim of a bad burglary going to the police station to lodge a complaint. India was anxious to see Pakistan pronounced as "guilty" but, soon found herself in the dock. The complaint proved a boomerang; and every allegation she advanced against Pakistan recoiled on her and limelighted issues she was most anxious to avoid.

India asked the Security Council, "(1) to prevent Pakistan Government personnel, military and civil, from participating or assisting in the invasion of the Jammu and Kashmir State ; (2) to call upon other Pakistani nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in the Jammu and Kashmir State ; (3) to deny to the invaders (a) access to and use of its territory for operations against Kashmir, (b) military and other supplies, (c) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle."

Pakistan was hardly taken by surprise and submitted its counter-complaint to the Security Council. Pakistan requested the Security Council not to treat Kashmir as an isolated issue, as it accused India of 'widespread genocide against the Muslim population', forcible occupation of Junagadh State which had acceded to Pakistan, non-fulfilment of agreement reached immediately after Partition, and accepting the Maharaja's dangerous offer of accession which was based on 'violence and fraud', in spite of the standstill agreement which necessitated prior consultation with the Government of Pakistan.

The result of this complaint and counter-complaint was a moral triumph for Pakistan. Firstly, the Security Council did not concede the Indian request that Pakistan be condemned as aggressor ; and secondly, the Security Council did not accept

India's legal position and ignored this aspect of the issue. In fact, the Security Council readily agreed with Pakistan that the only lasting solution of the problem was (1) to demilitarize the State; and (2) to hold a plebiscite under the direct supervision of the United Nations.

The Security Council thus appointed a Commission which succeeded in securing India-Pakistan agreement and approval of the two resolutions passed on August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, which laid down the following procedure to decide the question of accession :-

(1) Immediate cease-fire and demarcation of the cease-fire line ;
(2) the demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir ;
(3) a free and impartial plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations to settle the accession issue.

Fighting stopped on the first day of 1949 ; an agreement on demarcation of the cease-fire line was concluded after seven months ; the U.N. military observers took their position on both sides of the cease-fire line to ensure that the agreement was not violated; but the Commission failed to secure India's acceptance of any plan of demilitarization of the State.

When all efforts proved abortive, the Commission decided that all points of difference which had arisen between India and Pakistan should be referred to Admiral Chester Nimitz who had already been designated Plebiscite Administrator. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

The case came back to the Security Council in September, 1949, and it was decided that a U.N. representative should be appointed to explore the possibility of an agreed solution and iron out the difficulties that had cropped up.

General McNaughton, President of the Security Council, was entrusted with the task of "negotiating informally with the Indian and Pakistani representatives." Pakistan accepted his plan but India demanded "the complete disbanding and disarming of the Azad forces and the occupation of the Northern Areas by the Indian Army." The Security Council reconsidered the situation and adopted a resolution on March 14, 1950, appointing Sir Owen Dixon to act as mediator.

Having called a joint meeting of the two Prime Ministers and discussed the issue with them, he came to the tragic conclusion "that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarization", preparatory to the holding of a plebiscite "in conditions sufficiently

guarding against intimidation and other forms of influence and abuse." Later, he suggested a few specific measures to ensure a free and fair plebiscite, but India turned down every proposal.

The Security Council again took up the case and adopted a resolution on March 30, 1951, providing for the appointment of Dr. Graham as U.N. representative to implement the resolutions. Dr. Graham laboured for 19 months but India rejected every plan to effect the demilitarization of the State. Besides, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met not only to discuss the Kashmir dispute but to resolve all issues outstanding between the two countries. Even these direct negotiations failed, as India began to raise the issue of American military aid and Pakistan's participation in the regional defence pacts. These issues had no relevancy to the Kashmir dispute, but India was determined to seize every opportunity to hold up a plebiscite.

The years that followed only served to harden India's opposition to any demilitarization plan. When it was suggested, during and after the Suez crisis, that a U.N. police force in adequate numbers be sent to the State of Jammu and Kashmir to ensure peaceful withdrawal of Indian troops from occupied Kashmir and Pakistan troops from Azad Kashmir to prepare the ground for a proper plebiscite, Nehru

hit back and said that he could not allow any "foreign troops" in Kashmir. But he conveniently forgot that, as long as the Kashmir dispute was not democratically settled, the Indian troops in Kashmir were technically foreign troops. Besides, how this U.N. force idea became so "foreign" to Nehru's mind when he was ever ready to contribute a contingent of Indian troops to U.N. force at the slightest indication of trouble brewing in the remotest part of the world.

In a statement to the Security Council on January 16, 1957, Pakistan's Foreign Minister made a similar suggestion which was embodied in a resolution vetoed by the Soviet Union. Thus, the Security Council adopted yet another resolution on February 21, 1957, and appointed yet another mediator to confer with the Governments of India and Pakistan on the unresolved questions relating to demilitarization and plebiscite.

Mr. Gunnar Jarring, the Swedish representative on the Security Council, who was appointed for this purpose, visited the subcontinent during the spring and submitted his report on April 29, 1957. It was a laboured but futile attempt to placate and encourage India to initiate discussion on issues which his predecessors thought had been settled.

The Security Council met in the last week of September, 1957, to consider the Jarring report. The Pakistan Foreign Minister rightly insisted that 'the Security Council should proceed with the main task before it." But the Indian representative trotted out his trite arguments and did not contribute one word to ease the situation or bring the dispute nearer solution. In fact, true to form, he laboured hard to confuse the issues and get the Security Council into a mess. After listening to the speeches of Indian and Pakistani representatives, the Security Council met again to consider yet another resolution and appoint yet another mediator.

The joint resolution submitted by the members of the Security Council on 16 November, 1957, and the amended resolution approved on 27 November, 1957, showed to what extent world powers agreed to be coerced by India's intransigent attitude. The fourth paragraph of the first resolution read "that the Governments of India and Pakistan recognize and accept the commitments undertaken by them in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, dated August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, which envisage the determination of the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the will of the people through the democratic method of a free and impar-

tial plebiscite, and that Mr. Jarring felt it appropriate to explore what was impeding their full implementation."

But, in the subsequent resolution, the words "commitments undertaken by them in" were deleted and instead the words "provisions of its resolution, dated 17 January, 1948, and of" were inserted. Again, the most significant operative paragraph of the first resolution requested "the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan to make any recommendations to the parties for further action which he considers desirable in connexion with Part I of the UNCIP resolution of August 13, 1948, and in particular to reach agreement on a reduction of forces on each side of the cease-fire line to a specific number, arrived at on the basis of the relevant Security Council resolutions and having regard to the fifth report of the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan." But this paragraph was dropped and the following text was substituted : "Requests the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan to make any recommendations to the parties for further appropriate action with a view to making progress towards the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, and towards a peaceful settlement." Furthermore, operative para 3 was totally deleted.

It called upon "the Governments of India and Pakistan to cooperate with the United Nations Representative in order to formulate an early agreement on demilitarization procedures, which should be implemented within three months of such an agreement being reached."

Thus, in pursuance of a resolution denuded of all binding force, adopted by the Security Council on 2 December, 1957, Dr. Graham, the United Nations Representative for India and Pakistan, reached the subcontinent in the second week of January 1958 and submitted his report in the first week of April 1958.

Here is a 5-point summary of his report which speaks for itself :

Dr. Graham thought that the two Governments should be prepared to reaffirm that they would respect the integrity of the cease-fire line. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

Dr. Graham suggested that Pakistan should withdraw its troops from the State of Jammu and Kashmir simultaneously with the withdrawal of the bulk of the Indian forces from the State in stages to be agreed upon with the Commission, as provided in Part II of August 13, 1948, resolution. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

Dr. Graham recommended that a prompt study be undertaken under the auspices of UNCIP of how the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops could, pending a final solution, be administered by the local authorities in accordance with the provisions of the resolution. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

Dr. Graham hinted at the possibility of the stationing of United Nations force on the Pakistan side of the Jammu and Kashmir border, following the withdrawal of the Pakistan Army from the State. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

Dr. Graham pleaded for a conference at the Prime Ministers level to be held under his auspices. Pakistan accepted and India rejected the proposal.

We cannot possibly accuse Dr. Graham of sardonically referring to the wonderful "co-operation" he received from the Government of India, but we know he had a full taste of the treatment accorded to him in Bombay. We are all conscious of the limitations of diplomatic assignments and delicate goodwill missions, but it is a pity that Dr. Graham did not pursue the procedure for demilitarization he had laid down six years ago. If he had done so, it would have been a definite step forward towards the implementation of Part II of 13 August, 1948, resolution. On 28 March, 1958,

Dr. Graham reported failure in his report to the Security Council.

But, thanks to these mediators' anxiety to keep Nehru in good humour, India openly began to accuse United Nations of "collaborating" with Pakistan. She had always insisted on the withdrawal of Pakistani troops, "as the condition for the demilitarization of the State," but when Pakistan offered to do it, she could not countenance the prospects of a U.N. force stationed on the Kashmir border. But, perhaps, the most amusing part of this sordid drama was India's rejection of Prime Ministers conference because in her opinion its acceptance would place "the aggressor and the aggressed on the same footing"! On November 12, 1949, Nehru had said at a press conference in London that "India continued to suggest that there should be mediation" and yet in 1960, Nehru ruled out mediation and characterised Dr. Graham's suggestion for Prime Ministers conference under his auspices as "totally and absolutely unacceptable," as he would "directly deal with Pakistan."

At a press conference on 24 January, 1962, President Kennedy disclosed that he had asked Mr. Eugene Black, President of the World Bank, "to see if a solution was possible in this most difficult and delicate problem. It creates international tensions...

We are assisting both the countries. We would like our assistance to be used in a way which is most effective to the people." Mr. Black accepted the assignment, but India turned down the proposal.

In April-May 1962, the Security Council again took up the Kashmir question. On June 22, Ireland submitted a resolution and requested the U.N. Secretary General "to provide the Governments with such services as they may require for carrying out the terms of this resolution." The resolution asked the two countries "to solve the Kashmir problem by using the provisions of the U.N. Charter by negotiations, mediation, arbitration or any other mode of choice." The resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union and could not be adopted.

The Sino-Indian war in the winter of 1962 again spotlighted the Kashmir dispute. The British Commonwealth Relations Secretary and the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State made President Ayub and Prime Minister Nehru issue a joint statement on 29 November, 1962, in which they "agreed that a renewed effort should be made to resolve the outstanding differences between their two countries on Kashmir and other matters so as to enable India and Pakistan to live side by side in peace and friendship. In consequence they have decided to start discussions at an early date with the object of reaching an honour-

able and equitable settlement. These will be conducted initially at the ministerial level. At an appropriate stage, direct talks will be held between Mr. Nehru and President Ayub."

But, within 24 hours, Mr. Nehru told the Parliament, "anything that involved the upsetting of the present arrangement would be very harmful to the people of Kashmir as well as to the future relationship between India and Pakistan . . . I explained to them again and again our basic principles and how it was not possible for us to bypass or ignore them."

It was a shocking statement and Mr. Nehru tried to clarify the position in a subsequent note and said that there could not be "any restrictions on the scope of the talks which the two Governments are initiating." The respresentatives of India and Pakistan met at four conferences in Rawalpindi, New Delhi, Karachi and Calcutta in the months of December 1962 and January 1963. The talks were inconclusive and a joint communique announced that "no agreement could be reached" on the settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

On 27 November, 1963, the Indian Minister for Home Affairs announced measures to end the special constitutional status of Kashmir and integrate the state with India. Pakistan again protested but the members of the Security Council could not do

better than to express 'the hope that the two parties would abstain from any act that might aggravate the situation and that they would take such measures as would re-establish an atmosphere of moderation between the two countries and also peace and harmony among the communities.' The Security Council could not adopt a resolution and preferred to express a consensus.

The next milestone was on the war path; the Security Council passed a resolution on September 20, 1965, when India and Pakistan were fighting ferocious battles on the land, sea and in the air. The first part of the resolution directed the parties to cease fire; the second part urged 'a settlement of the political problem underlying the present conflict.' India accepted this resolution and yet, within a few weeks, Shastri claimed Kashmir as an integral part of India.

India and Pakistan agreed to cease-fire, but the troops remained in battle positions and the air loaded with explosive emotions. Thanks to Soviet Russia's mediatory efforts, President Ayub and Prime Minister Shastri journeyed on the road to Tashkent and signed a declaration on January 4, 1966. The spirit of Tashkent Declaration clearly pointed towards a resolution of the Kashmir dispute, but the lady Prime Minister came out with the fantastic statement that 'sovereignty was not negotiable', and

there was no question of any discussion on Kashmir. In the spring of 1966 an Indian Ministerial team visited Pakistan. During their 3-day stay in Rawalpindi, they insisted on treating Kashmir as a 'problem' and not a 'dispute'!

Thus, we have seen that right from the moment the Security Council took cognizance of the Kashmir dispute up to an open war in September 1965, India has used every stratagem and resorted to every device to deviate from the original position. The manifest purpose of all this ingenious casuistry is to dodge the day of plebiscite. What is still more deplorable is that the history of the United Nations' intervention in the Kashmir dispute is a story of concessions to Indian intransigence. The Security Council and the four mediators always realized that plebiscite was the ultimate objective but perhaps they did not appreciate that India's diplomacy was directed to ensure that a plebiscite should never be held. In spite of Nehru's unequivocal statements and solemn assurances to the Security Council, to its mediators, to Pakistan and to the world that the final disposition of the disputed valley would be decided "in accordance with the wishes of the people", India's game has been to make the chances of a plebiscite remote and remoter.

Why has India buried her past commitments and challenged the very idea of plebiscite ? Let the

explanation come from Nehru. This is how he luridly summed up the case, "It is not Kashmir, therefore, but rather a much *deeper conflict* that comes in the way of friendly relations between India and Pakistan and the situation is a grave one. We cannot give up the basic ideal which we have held so long and on which the whole conception of our state is founded."

In other words, the Hindu Congress leaders were never mentally reconciled to the division of the country. They signed the partition agreement, but it was perhaps more a gamble in the rain than an act of faith. No wonder, Nehru had been hoping for the return of the fugitive to the fold ; as Pakistan became more and more resistant to any kind of coalescence it became Enemy Number One.

CHAPTER IV

ENEMY NUMBER ONE

ENEMY NUMBER ONE

Why should we expect everybody to have a good passing word for us? It is said that a man who has no enemies is fraction of a man because tall trees are known by their shadows. After centuries of foreign domination, the Hindu became free but could not perhaps cast off the belittling impact of slavery. Taking a cue from the old Hindu literature on statecraft, he began to parade his personality by cultivating enmity. Perhaps it did not prove to be a consuming exercise because they found that the easiest prey is the nearest neighbour.

In one of his confessional outbursts, the inimitable Indian demagogue Krishna Menon denounced Pakistan as Enemy Number One. All prominent denizens of the Hindu world have individually subscribed to this assessment without mincing words. I am not sure whether it is begging or asking the question: why did they not shed their hatred of Pakistan when division of the country was the result of an agreed formula between the Hindu Congress, the Muslim League and the Sikhs? Our foreign friends are intrigued to find that the spectre of Hindu-Muslim madness is as menacing today as it was during the last days of the British rule.

According to the written testimony that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has placed at our disposal for scrutiny and judgment, it was their conviction that Pakistan would soon fall and not their conversion to the idea of separation which led them to approve the partition plan. They were convinced that they were taking a calculated risk and Pakistan would go under before they get over the shock of partition. It is possible to adduce enough circumstantial evidence and prove that the Congress leaders would never have become an ostensibly willing party to division if they had an iota of doubt about the survival of Pakistan for more than a few months.

Who could doubt the credentials of Maulana Azad when he speaks of his life-long colleagues like Gandhi, Nehru and Patel ? He has recounted the inside story of the circumstances that led to the creation of Pakistan.

Sardar Patel was the first to be 'convinced' that there was no alternative to Pakistan. It is believed that Lord Mountbatten's wife 'persuaded' Nehru to accept it. How and why did they revise their ideas after meeting Lord and Lady Mountbatten ?

According to Maulana Azad, Gandhi said, "Partition has now become a threat. It seems

Vallabhai and even Jawaharlal have surrendered. What will you do now ? Will you stand by me or have you also changed ?" Gandhi met Lord Mountbatten on April 1 and 2, 1947. As Maulana Azad puts it, "What happened during the meeting I do not know. But when I met Gandhiji again I received the greatest shock of my life, for I found that he too had changed." And, yet, in an earlier statement, Gandhi had warned the Congress that it could accept partition but "it will be over my dead body. So long as I am alive, I will never agree to the partition of India. Nor will I, if I can help it, allow the Congress to accept it."

There are also reasons to believe that the Congress triumvirate were secretly shown the partition plan which they accepted but maintained a feigned opposition to Pakistan to vindicate publicly their old stand and dispel suspicions into the bargain. At this private show, they were convinced that Pakistan would soon change, like the picture of Dorian Gray, and look 'withered and wrinkled.' They were made to believe that it would not be a wall but a veneer which would separate the two newly-born States. They were sure that truncated Pakistan would be torn to pieces and, to use an automobile term, its agents would not be given time to carry the parts to the assembly plant.

The idea that Pakistan would not last long was whispered to Afghanistan and the Pakhtoonistan stunt was born. As the Correspondent of "The Times", London, observed: "It is, however, a curious fact, that Afghan officials habitually express their certainty that Pakistan is fated, in due course, to disintegrate and be merged into a reunited India; which suggests that the claim to Pakhtoonistan may possibly have been formulated, at a time when this event seemed more probable than now, with an eye to an eventual 'division of spoils'." After a few years, the same journal reported that the Afghan Government had lost hopes 'but the commitment remains'.

The finale of the first act in the drama was witnessed on 15 August, 1947, when, according to Campbell Johnson, "the Mountbattens' drive home was only the second of several tumultuous rides during the day, and all the way back to Government House the cries of 'Jai Hind' were mixed with 'Mountbatten Ki Jai', and even 'Pandit Mountbatten'. Churchill put it epigrammatically when he said that Nehru would supersede Gandhi when "he has squeezed the last drop from the British lemon."

Thus, it started with a conspiracy, but it failed; when they saw Pakistan saddled, they threw challenge after challenge, but were beaten back each time they tried to stage a showdown. As Pakistan did

not crumple and all their hopes were dashed, they opened the book of Chanakya, turned its leaves and found a whole bag of tricks to deal with the enemy. They burdened Pakistan with 10 million refugees, but the caravan of Pakistan did not halt. They stopped the canal-waters supply, but Pakistan remained afloat. They pocketed Pakistan's share of cash balances, but Pakistan did not crash. They gave no coal to our railways, but our trains did not lose the power of locomotion. They usurped Kashmir to lengthen our peripheral defence line, but Pakistan did not collapse. They denuded Pakistan of all sinews of survival, but Pakistan did not succumb to their machinations. They did not let Pakistan breathe freely for a moment; it was blow after blow, but Pakistan always recovered. It was not even a straight fight; it was always a stab in the back. Quaid-i-Azam pleaded for "burying the hatchet" and cultivate cordial neighbourly relations. It did not appeal to them because reconciliation with Pakistan would be renunciation of their objective to work for the capitulation of Pakistan. They thought that Pakistan was a bad coin which must go out of circulation. But the new state remained a legal tender and the world accepted it at its intrinsic value. The virus infected the whole Hindu population; they were so lost in twilight twitters that they could not see the rising sun of Pakistan.

Every move was calculated to impoverish Pakistan; every utterance was a threat to undo Pakistan; every step was a spade to dig the grave of Pakistan; and every act was a link in the chain of events which cast their shadow of death on the subcontinent. As these designs are properly placed and integrally co-related, we find ourselves unfolding a scroll on which both the Mahatmatic and Mahasabhite Hindu leaders duly appended their signature.

Some projected the historical perspective into the future and prophesied that India was destined to be one country. Some had intellectual reasons to advance against division and for ultimate merger. Some expressed the poetic wish that physical separation would not divide the hearts; the creation of Pakistan and Hindustan was a temporary estrangement between two brothers! Some took a strategic stance and thought that the existence of Pakistan was a danger to the safety and security of India.

This is how the tirade against Pakistan was conducted; here are a few excerpts from Indian newspapers:

"The A.I.C.C. earnestly trusts that when the present passions have subsided, India's problems will be viewed in their proper perspective and the false doctrine of two nations in India will be discredited and discarded by all."

All-India Congress Committee resolution
New Delhi, June 14, 1947

"Our aim must be to re-annex Pakistan to India. I have no doubt this is bound to come whether by pressure of economic or political or other reasons."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji, "Organiser"
(Delhi), July 3, 1947

"I am not a pessimist and I have full faith that this vivisection is temporary. All the same we must prepare the 300 million Hindus to be ready to die for the attainment of our goal rather than lull them to peace by preaching impossible theories which have resulted in our downfall. Our fundamental defect has been that we have been too peace-loving."

Diwan Chaman Lal, "Organiser"
(Delhi), July 3, 1947

"Few can realise the bitterness and sorrow which Partition has brought to those who cherished unity but lived to fashion its details . . . Sooner than later we shall again be united in common allegiance to our country."

Sardar Vallabhai Patel: "Amrita Bazar Patrika"
(Calcutta), August 15, 1947

"The territories that today constitute the dominion of Pakistan are and would continue to remain the integral parts of India in spite of the Partition. The division is temporary and I feel sure that a day will come sooner or later when Pakistan as usual will become a part of India."

A Minister of Bihar Government:
"Hindustan Standard"
(Calcutta) September 23, 1948

"Hindu Mahasabha's primary aim is to achieve Akhand Hindustan (*viz.* amalgamated India and Pakistan). I am certain that it would be achieved."

Shemaram Gupta : "Sansar Samachar"
(Sindhi daily of Bombay),
July 19, 1950

"Our country cannot make any progress unless Pakistan is finished off. Things have been shaping in such a way that I am led to believe that war between India and Pakistan has become inevitable. I would, therefore, advise the Government of India to join hands with Afghanistan and finish off Pakistan as soon as possible."

Raja Mohendra Pratap : "Vir Bharat"
(Delhi), December 21, 1950

The Indian socialist leader, Ram Manohar Lohia, admonished the ruling Congress party 'to stop trade with Pakistan or the alternative was reunion or war'. Chagrined at Pakistan's decision not to devalue, in September 1949, the Reserve Bank of India informed all banks that it would not be in a position to quote any rate for the purchase and sale of a Pakistani rupee. About 160-million rupees worth of goods which should have changed hands between India and Pakistan remained blocked.

Nehru often tried to assume an air of reticence but he was never vague in his pronouncements against Pakistan. Imagine what he reportedly told a senior British Officer : "Our deliberate plan would be to allow Jinnah to have his Pakistan, and gradually make things so impossible economically and otherwise for Pakistan that they would have to come on their bended knees and ask to be allowed back into India". In an interview to C.L. Sulzberger of "New York Times" on March 2, 1957, Mr. Nehru said, "I would have said that certainly we should have some kind of confederation, not federation—independent states with common defence and economic possibilities . . . The difficulty now is if we talk about it, this upsets our neighbour (Pakistan) because we are so much the bigger. Nevertheless, of course, this remains the logical future path . . ." Having endorsed the partition plan, even Gandhi decreed war against Pakistan because it was a 'blasphemy' and the bisection of India a sacrilegious act.

Thus, it was a torrent of insults and invectives, a masterpiece of abusive oratory. They have indeed made an explosive contribution to the inter-state political battle which has not ceased for a moment since 1947. Everybody joined the chorus—the Congress luminaries, the Socialist leaders, the Mahasabha

firebrands, the Jansangh jingoists and the smaller sabre-rattlers. We never expected them to embrace the makers and friends of Pakistan, but could they not even refrain from issuing recriminatory statements on the eve and morrow of partition ?

It has been a crises-ridden life for Pakistan for, even when the surface seemed calm and the fringe frustration removed, the storm was brewing all the time. There were no signs of friendship because Indian leaders not only attacked Pakistan, not only attacked the ideology of Muslims but challenged the very basis of separation which brought the new State into being. Nehru, India's epitome for seventeen years, had been academically busy tearing off the pages of history and write his own script on the birth of the Muslim nation which, he believed, was merely "an emotional state of mind". And, for him, the "oneness" of India was not only a mental obsession or an intellectual idea but a political ideal to be passionately pursued and realized.

Every time there was a popular resentment in Pakistan against Indian policies, they brought their troops right to the border. India has been poised for an invasion of Pakistan at least five times since 1947. There is only physical and no moral difference between the use and demonstration of force. This show of force cut no ice but it surely cut deeper

the wounds that needed to be balmed. It inevitably led to more mutual fear and suspicion, more distrust and more ill-will.

For Indian leaders, compromise means surrender and peace means 'peace on our terms.' "If the methods we have suggested are not agreed to, it may be that we shall have to adopt other methods," thundered Nehru in the Indian Parliament on 23 February, 1950. Two months later, Nehru referred to the 'disaster in Bengal' and added that it was 'a prelude to an even greater catastrophe' because Pakistan and India had reached 'the edge of a precipice.' Mr. Ian Stephens interpreted it thus :

"What Pandit Nehru said to us (at a press conference) was equivocal, the sort of Either-or address at which he is adept. A Hindu fellow-editor remarked to me afterwards : 'He means war.' By the first week of March, war had nearly come ; the two countries were within an hair's breadth of it. Troops had been moved not only in Bengal but — more perturbingly—in the Punjab. India's armoured division, to which no real Pakistani counterpart existed, was pushed forward in a way which threatened Lahore."

In the course of a Press conference on 15 March, 1951, Mr. Nehru turned fiery red and said that 'it

was the business of the Indian armed forces to occupy the whole of Kashmir if there was any danger to any part of it.' In April 1951, Indian Minister Jain echoed, 'If Pakistan does not behave we shall have to do something to make them realize and behave in a civilized fashion.' In June 1951 Mr. Nehru again blurt out, "We will tolerate no nonsense about Kashmir, come what may." Within a few days the bulk of Indian army was menacingly massed along Pakistan borders. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan offered a 5-point peace plan, but Nehru turned it down. It had reminded India of their "solemn commitments to the United Nations for the renunciation of the use of methods of force in the settlement of any disputes."

On 25 February, 1956, the Indian armed forces forcibly occupied the disputed area of Chhad Bet in the Rann of Kutch. In February 1957, India again started massing and stationing her troops around the frontiers of Pakistan. They were seen strategically moving and digging trenches along the border. In April, 1958, the Indian forces resorted to indiscriminate firing near the Cachar-Sylhet area in East Pakistan. If they had regarded it as a trivial border issue, the Indian Home Minister, Pandit Pant, would not have threatened, after four months 'to show India's might to Pakistan in a befitting manner.'

Unable to win any battle against Pakistan, they thought that nothing short of war could 'teach Pakistan a lesson'. Could they venture it without strengthening their armoured divisions and fighting forces? Powerless to maintain the falling facade of non-alignment and anxious to build a modern war machine they provoked China, suffered a defeat and appealed to the West for arms, ammunition and equipment to fight their next door mountainous neighbour. The debacle of 1962 became a spring-board for Indian politicians and they lept from the highest pedestal to the lowest rung and finally plunged into Western waters; thus started the shopping spree for all types of military hardware and India became such a popular and reliable customer that, apart from gifts and grants, she had initially to pay only ten per cent of the price.

The Indian leaders bellowed out that the scales had been tilted and India must augment her war potentials to fight the Chinese bugbear. The donors were forewarned that India's bursting military might was bound to be hurled against Pakistan. But Pentagon thought that our fears were unfounded and we were perhaps suffering from optical illusion; in fact it was a case neither of myopia nor neurosis because anybody could see India poised and preparing for attack on Pakistan. Besides, all experts

pointed out that any large-scale Sino-Indian war was a military improbability.

The bubble of Chinese bogey is too transparent to need any pricking ; it was only a border clash and Chinese withdrew to their original positions. The two 'belligerents' did not even recall their ambassadors. What is more, during the conflict with China, India kept her best divisions on the borders of East and West Pakistan. The lid was off when, defining India's Five-Year Defence Plan, Mr. Chavan declared that "we shall see that India becomes the grave of Pakistan." He also confirmed Pakistan as Enemy Number One when he said at a public meeting in Jaipur that "the struggle between India and Pakistan originated when Pakistan was born." Thus all types of arms and equipment India acquired could only be employed against Pakistan. Even the United States, Soviet Russia and British Government realised that it could not be used against China. The former U.S. Joint Chief of Staff, General Maxwell Taylor, lent full support to the contention that India was preparing to fight Pakistan, not China. Even Mr. Nehru had once conceded that "most of our military thinking had been conditioned to the possibility of a war with Pakistan." A former Commander-in-Chief of India had publicly declared that the entire military strategy of

India had been tailored to meet the requirements of fighting Pakistan as there was no other enemy.

For several years, after Partition, they expected Pakistan to repent, report failure and seek reunion; their wishful thinking had completely blinded them to the stark reality of Pakistan as a living and viable State. During the next few years, they thought that Pakistan was strong enough to repel aggression. It was only after the massive military aid from the Western countries that they began to show their teeth. India's feverish war preparations had paved the way; an armed conflict with Pakistan seemed imminently close. . .

At last the sulphureous hate passions flamed up and found an outlet; it was a plot whose every act ominously led to the denouement; India finally opted for a showdown and attacked Pakistan on the morning of September 6, 1965.

The circumstances that immediately preceded the subcontinental war and its profound consequences are considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

THE SHOWDOWN

THE SHOWDOWN

With hatred in the heart and dagger in the hand, they make a periodic offer of 'no-war' pact with Pakistan. That they do not lack the effrontery to make such trite peace overtures is not amazing as it is a patently Hindu habit to worship at the altar of expediency. Pakistan has never been ensnared by this sterile strategy of peace. The no-war harangue has found no audience; the offer has always turned out to be hollow and hypocritical.

During his visit to the United States, Dr. Radhakrishnan, the President of India, said that a 'no-war pact' with Pakistan could be registered with the United Nations and thus give it 'international validity in law and in morality which it would not otherwise possess'. Has India shown any reverence to United Nations' resolutions on Kashmir to justify our gesture in accepting the recommendation at its face value?

Secondly, it is redundant to talk of 'no-war' agreement when both India and Pakistan are members of the United Nations and Article 23 of the Charter stipulates: "The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the main-

tenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

Thirdly, how can a 'no-war' document ensure Pakistan against Indian attack and aggression when they have always resorted to force and tried to coerce their smaller neighbours into submission? They have no need to dangle before us this inverted image of security when we know how often they have failed in the test of sincerity.

Fourthly, it is confounding the priority rule of treating 'first things first'. As Kashmir has become the keystone of India-Pakistan relations, there can be no prospects of peace without resolving this dispute. When they offer the chaff and withhold the grain, the deal is bound to prove spurious. Consigning Kashmir to the grave and talk of normalising trade relations and inland navigation is the debunked method of mistaking disease for the symptoms.

Referring to Kashmir, Nehru once romantically exclaimed, it is a "piece of my heart". He had no time and temper to admit that the obsession had also destroyed "peace of my mind". Nehru histrionically managed to live with the tremors of this problem for seventeen years but some are inclined to believe

that Kashmir had become a drain on the moral resources of his conscience and he nearly realised his mistake before his ashes mingled with the dusty plains of India. It was left to mini-man Shastri, his 'wily and resilient' successor, to achieve a war with Pakistan. Nehru might have paved the way but Shastri was so desperate to wriggle out of his diminutive dimensions and prove that he was not a 'prisoner of indecision' that, after his aggressive war against Pakistan, the camp-followers began to accuse him of greatness which he neither possessed nor claimed. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the wartime Prime Minister of India, has also gone through the funeral pyre and his fire-eaten remains have been consigned to the sacred silt of Ganges. It was a natural death but post mortem of Shastri's political deeds will ever remain an inviting subject for writers and researchers.

Was the September war a sudden flare-up or an inescapable consequence of policies India has wantonly pursued all these years ? We have seen how India wanted to put out the candle of Pakistan immediately after partition. Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, former Chief Justice of India and ex-Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, has now disclosed that the Indian Government planned to attack Pakistan in December 1947.

Writing in the daily *Tribune* of Ambala, Mr. Mahajan said : "The Indian Government now proposes to follow the well-known rule of military science that offensive action against an aggressor is the best form of defence.

"It may interest the readers to know that such a decision was taken as early as in 1947 by Sardar Patel at a meeting held in December of that year in Jammu at General Kulwant Singh's headquarters."

Mr. Mahajan said that "this meeting was attended among others by the then Indian Defence Minister, Sardar Baldev Singh; General Thimayya; the Maharaja of Patiala; the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar; the Dogra ruler of Jammu and Kashmir, Hari Singh; Mr. Mehr Chand Mahajan, as his Prime Minister; and Bakhshi Ghulam Muhammad."

As a preliminary to invade Pakistan, "General Thimayya was requested to recruit and train guerillas and the military headquarters were to plan the steps to be taken."

According to N.C. Chaudhuri, an Indian writer, the first objective of the 'new militarism' acquired by 'the Hindu Government' was Pakistan, because the 'illusion which they nursed at first was the idea of putting an end to the existence of Pakistan by what thought would be walk-over . . . " Mr. Chaudhuri

thinks that he is 'right in saying that at least twice, if not three times, between 1947 and 1954, India intended to invade Pakistan." The invasion was presumably called off because they thought that Pakistan contained the seeds of its own destruction. For the first few years they expected Pakistan to disintegrate and send mercy petitions to New Delhi for reunion; during the next decade, they believed that they could not easily inflict a military defeat on Pakistan; it was only after massive aid was poured into India's defence pipeline that her ruling junto became too big for their boots. They have been lying in ambush, marking time and getting ready to pounce upon Pakistan, the most delectable prey. In any case, being a neighbour, Pakistan was a fine target for practice shooting! The military hardware they had received for emergency or regular use against China had also to be tested. Above all, they were itching 'to wash out the black spots' of China and Rann of Kutch wars in which they were ignominiously defeated. They were foaming to prove the 'worth of the Indian soldier'.

It is possible to establish an arithmetical equation between the timing of the Western military aid to India and the series of events which suddenly changed the countenance of her rulers. I am not referring to stray episodes but deliberate acts of commission which can only be attributed to a morbid state induced by power-drunkenness.

Without the slightest compunction, India capitalised on border skirmishes with China in order (a) 'to unite the country that was rapidly falling apart' and (b) 'to get foreign military assistance in a massive way.' Apart from augmenting her indigenous defence production, India's immediate defence targets were 21 divisions with a large number of additional units ; air force of 25 squadrons ; and a navy with a fleet of submarines, aircraft carriers, cruisers, destroyers and frigates.

First, it was "emergency aid" and Pakistan was solaced by United States and United Kingdom that it was 'limited, controllable and of a defensive character'. It was soon extended to "short-term aid" and India was promised 120-million dollars worth of military assistance. The imperatives of the situation had so radically changed that we were bound to protest, but even the American critics of this policy were told that "Pakistan would sooner or later adjust itself to the military assistance that was being given to India on a long-term basis in the same way as India had adjusted itself to the long-term military assistance that was given to Pakistan."

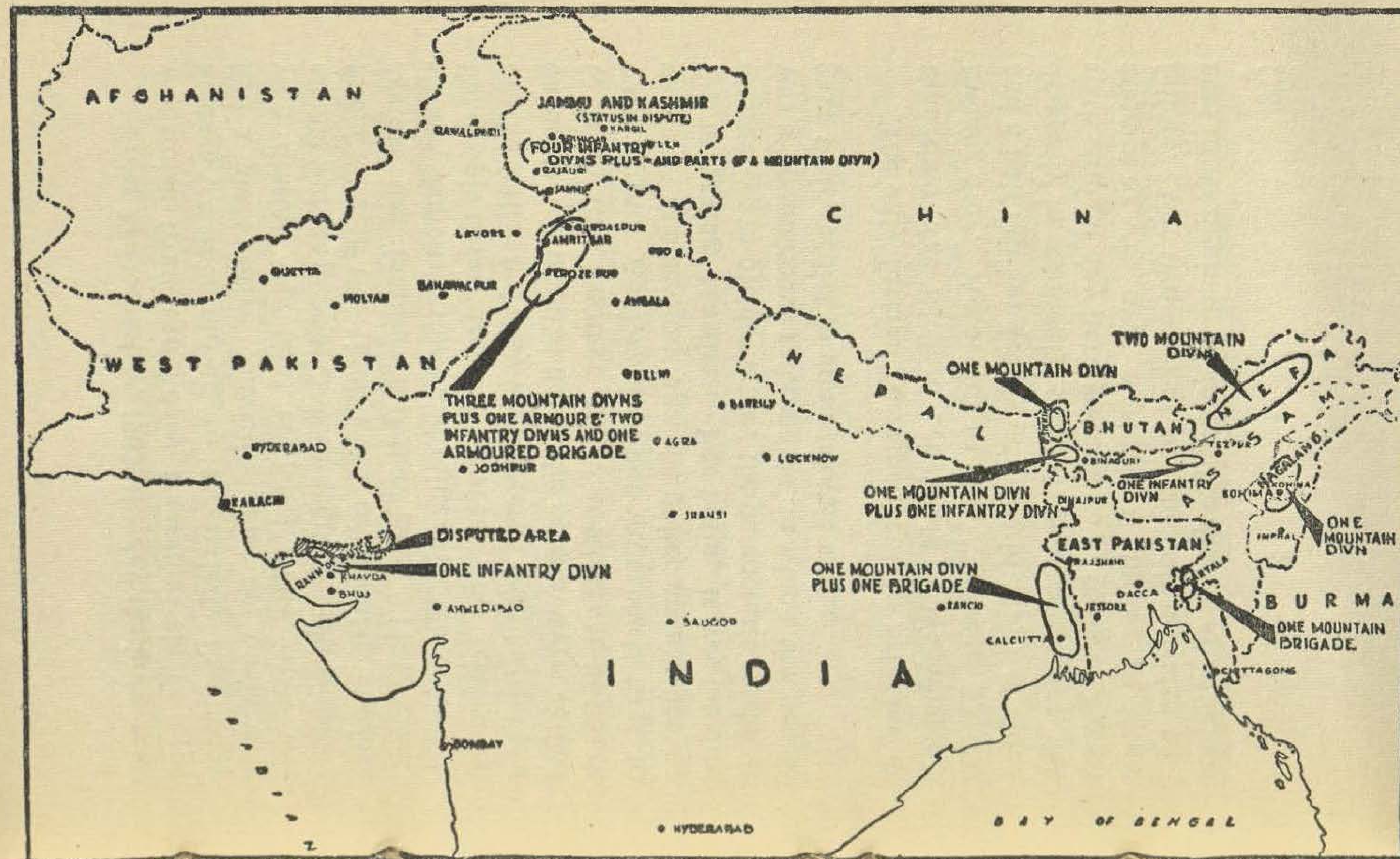
Thus, India was assured of military assistance to the tune of 100-million dollars a year. The Indian rulers accepted no obligations, but Pakistan's friends and allies made commitments to ensure the imple-

mentation of India's Five-Year Defence Plan. Defining this plan at a press conference in London, the Indian Defence Minister said that their aim was "to create five divisions capable of fighting a mountain war." It was a whoopping lie because India already had eight mountain divisions and an equal number of infantry divisions. In fact, as President Ayub pointed out : "India is now planning to have two defence forces—the original one, modernised and reinforced, poised as a clear threat to Pakistan, and the other one, supposed to be required against China, but so placed that it can also be used against Pakistan at any time."

It was a well-timed warning because in June 1964 the position was that six out of these ten mountain divisions were commissioned to encircle both East and West Pakistan. An authentic report prepared during these days exposed the falsity of India's claim that the ten West-equipped mountain divisions were raised to meet the threat of renewed aggression from China. According to this report, "three of the divisions are in the East Punjab area facing West Pakistan, while two of them have been deployed against East Pakistan—one in Barrackpore and the other in close proximity of the northern tip of East Pakistan. Of the remaining five, one is reportedly in Sikkim and another mountain division is stationed in Nagaland for coping with the Naga

struggle for freedom. Only two of the mountain divisions—and even these are said to have been depleted because of demands elsewhere—are deployed in the NEFA area along the Sino-Indian border to meet the so-called threat from China! The remaining tenth mountain division is reported to be receiving 'final touches' and is soon expected to be ready for operational employment presumably against Pakistan." (*See Map*)

With this massive defensive base, India adopted a new military posture; the confrontation was complete and the Congress Government was ready for an armed showdown if the Kashmir dispute led to a total war with Pakistan. It was at this crucial moment that Mrs. Indira Gandhi, as a Minister in the Shastri cabinet, declared that the Kashmir issue should be and would be settled 'once and for all.' This is called arguing from a vantage point, but little did they visualise the consequences of their monumental folly in Kashmir where the incendiary situation could start a blaze at any time. They also failed to realise the truth of the dictum that real causes produce real results. The Hazratbal episode, release and re-arrest of Sheikh Abdullah and the proposed integration of Kashmir with the Indian Union sparked a rebellion in the valley ; the plebiscite demand had got on an escalator ; they killed hundreds of freedom fighters, but the movement did not expire.


AFGHANISTAN
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
(STATUS IN DISPUTE)
KARGIL
RAWALPINDI
(FOUR INFANTRY DIVNS PLUS AND PARTS OF A MOUNTAIN DIVN)
RAJAURI
JAMMU
LEH
CHINA
LAHORE
GURDASPUR
AMRITSAR
QUETTA
MULTAN
BAHAWALPUR
FEROZEPUR
AMBALA
WEST PAKISTAN
DELHI
THREE MOUNTAIN DIVNS
PLUS ONE ARMOUR & TWO
INFANTRY DIVNS AND ONE
ARMOURED BRIGADE
BAREILLY
AGRA
LUCKNOW
HYDERABAD
JODHPUR
KARACHI
JHANSI
DISPUTED AREA
ONE INFANTRY DIVN
RANN OF KUTCH
KHAVDA
BHUJ
AHMEDABAD
SAUGOR
NEPAL
ONE MOUNTAIN DIVN
TWO MOUNTAIN DIVNS
NEFA
BHUTAN
ASSAM
TEZPUR
NAGALAND
KOHIMA
SILIGURI
ONE MOUNTAIN DIVN
PLUS ONE INFANTRY DIVN
ONE INFANTRY DIVN
DINAJPUR
ONE MOUNTAIN DIVN
IMPHAL
EAST PAKISTAN
RAJSHAHI
ONE MOUNTAIN DIVN
PLUS ONE BRIGADE
DACCA
AGARTALA
BURMA
RANCHI
JESSORE
ONE MOUNTAIN BRIGADE
CALCUTTA
INDIA
CHITTAGONG
BOMBAY
HYDERABAD
BAY OF BENGAL

From 27 December, 1963, the day the holy relic was stolen from the hoary Hazratbal shrine near Srinagar, events moved so torrentially that many had a premonitive conviction that the rendezvous with destiny was near at hand. The valley was aflame and the puppet Government's fire extinguishers failed to tame the tidal wave of popular passions against the iniquitous Indian rule. There were strikes, demonstrations and rallies all over the valley; the people demanded the recovery and restoration of the relic, but they were greeted with bullets and bayonets. Within 24 hours the people were chilled to learn that another shrine at Kishtwar had been burnt down. As they came out with black flags to condemn this new outrage, the police opened fire on the mourning Muslims. For India, it was the dire alternative to plebiscite; for the democratic world, it was a 'spontaneous referendum' in which the people gave their verdict in unmistakable terms.

The only foreign correspondent in Srinagar at that time was Richard Critchfield of Washington's *Evening Star*. According to him, "between 300,000 and a half million deeply grieving Muslims plodded doggedly in seemingly endless processions for the sixth straight day here yesterday . . . India's 15 years attempt to win over Kashmir is ending in tragic failure. For two weeks I was the only outsider witness in Kashmir to an incredible drama of religious

passions and political rebellion . . ." The *New York Times* correspondent, who visited Srinagar on 5 February, 1964, reported "political unrest with distinctly pro-Pakistan slant simmered in Kashmir today despite 'identification' yesterday of a reputed hair of Prophet Mohammad." Indian authorities tried to bully the Kashmiri Muslim leaders into an admission that the recovered relic was genuine ; there was renewed agitation and the people openly identified themselves with the demand for plebiscite and Abdullah's release.

Nehru and his Congress colleagues thought that another six years in prison might have 'reformed' and 'tamed' the Lion of Kashmir; they took a calculated risk and released Abdullah on 8 January, 1964 but, to their great surprise and sorrow, they found him as uncompromisingly opposed to India's Kashmir policy as before . . . Nehru died and Abdullah was re-arrested on 8 May, 1965, after his visit to Pakistan, Haj pilgrimage and tour of some Middle Eastern countries. No official explanation was given, but it was generally believed that he was fated to revert to prison because, during his stay in Algiers, he had an encounter with the Chinese Prime Minister ! To many outsiders, Abdullah offered a way out of the impasse 'by proposing that Kashmir should become a bridge between India and Pakistan instead of remaining as a gulf between them.' But, as the

Economist put it, "the bulk of politically conscious Kashmiris have seen their hopes raised when Abdullah was set free, dashed by his new arrest.

Tyranny has a tragic way of gathering gravitational momentum; one atrocious act leads to another; as the people rise and register their challenge, the wielders of absolute power become more desperate and despotic, resort to more ruthless measures and commit more heinous crimes. Abdullah's arrest was another ignition signal ; there was another battle ahead ; the people were angry and enraged ; but the new wave of freedom led to total suspension of civil liberties, wholesale arrests and imprisonments and there were reports of arson, riot, rape and murder perpetrated by the Indian occupation forces. As local witnesses told an American newspaperman, "the people are terribly afraid of being exterminated by India and the U.N. must come and see what is happening—it has begun to take the shape of genocide."

How long could India keep the Kashmir dispute on ice when they were stoking the fires of rebellion ? In spite of the Security Council's latest directive to the two parties to refrain from any act which might worsen the situation and Ayub-Shastri joint statement 'to settle the outstanding problems and disputes on an equitable and honourable basis,' the

Indian Government announced measures to integrate Kashmir ever more closely into India. The decision to empower the President of India to extend President's rule to Kashmir in case of an emergency was a step to ensure complete absorption of the State. The move to change the designation of the head of the State and Government was engineered to end the special constitutional status of Kashmir. The manifest intention was to make the State administration utterly subservient to New Delhi; the announced programme tended to bring trade, commerce, industry, price control, elections and even jurisdiction of State High Court under the Indian policy control. It was driving the last nail into the coffin of Kashmir; as Pakistan protested and a campaign of civil disobedience was stirred in the valley, the Indian Home Minister declared that accession of the State to India was "final, complete and irrevocable".

At last the time bomb of Kashmir exploded on 8 August, 1965, when a Revolutionary Council was set up by the people of Occupied Kashmir to conduct an all-out war of liberation against Indian imperialism; within a few days roads were cut, bridges wrecked, arms seized; every front reported fierce fighting and there were pitched battles near Srinagar. India charged that it was a surreptitious attack on its territory and the rebels were 'infiltrators,' equip-

ped, exported and financed by Pakistan. The allegation might not have appeared to be without substance if it had been all quiet in the valley since 1947. It was a massive revolt by the local freedom fighters; it was a part of the liberation struggle, and the general international reaction was that the Indian Government 'deserves little sympathy for its troubles in Kashmir.' It was not an invasion but an uprising, and top newspapers of the world affirmed that there was 'no evidence that the insurrection is taking place with Rawalpindi's blessing.'

The world press thought that it was a situation of utmost gravity and firm action should immediately be taken to find a peaceful and permanent solution. But, in this case, fears did not become liars, and hopes proved to be dupes. The Indian Defence Minister brazen-facedly declared that "whenever India had found it necessary to cross the cease-fire line, she had done so, and I have no doubt that we are ready to do so again."

Subsequent events show that a total war between India and Pakistan could perhaps be averted if the Indian army had not crossed the cease-fire line. It was the Indian army that crossed the cease-fire line on August 15, and occupied three posts in the Kargil sector of Azad Kashmir which they had earlier vacated on the intervention of U.N. Secretary-

General. It was again the Indian army that fired the first shot, crossed the cease-fire line on August 24 and occupied two Azad Kashmir posts in the Tithwal sector. On the same day, they again crossed the cease-fire line in Uri-Poonch sector, and took Haji Pir Pass. The conflict was still confined to Kashmir, but it was again the Indian army that started indiscriminate shelling of a Pakistani village in Gujrat District. It was again the Indian Air Force which came into action for the first time in Bhimber sector. Accusing India of enlarging the war *The Times*, London, wrote, "In the chronology of the escalation of this conflict India has to its discredit each overstep."

Now there was an ominous interlude; as they had provoked Pakistan, they seemed to be sure that Pakistan would soon retaliate. The fact that the Indian jets were committed to battle within two hours after Pakistan launched a counter-attack in the Chamb-Jaurian area shows that it was all preplanned. In a lightning forward movement Pakistan troops penetrated 17 miles into Occupied Kashmir; the Indian forces could not stand the thrust and were pushed back from village after village. New Delhi expected it, perhaps welcomed it; the hour had struck; it was time to launch their

planned offensive against Pakistan. All the hot and humid air was let out of India's political atmosphere. The war clouds had come to stay; India was on the war path; everything was on a war-footing; the people were gripped by war hysteria; the leaders were beating war drums; the Hindu battle cry was 'war, war, war' and 'we want atom bomb' to blast Pakistan. On September 4, the Indian Prime Minister said, "We believe in peace. We have worked for it and we shall never cease to work for peace." But the burlesque of holding out the olive branch did not last more than 36 hours. After the Rann of Kutch defeat, Shastri had announced that they would open a front of their own choosing; they chose the 'heart of Pakistan' for a three-pronged frontal attack. In the early hours of September 6, the Indian forces crossed the international boundary and mounted an invasion of Pakistan. Was it a surprise attack on Lahore? Perhaps, but what surprised the world was India's hard-to-hide military reverses. They were thrown back on every front; their advance was halted and the attack repulsed; their dream was shattered and the myth of Indian might exploded. When the retreat became a rout, Mr. Chavan came out with the assuaging statement that India had not launched any win-the-war offensive !

For seventeen frustrating days they had to lick the dust on every front. For a while, they gloated over the ghost of their victory, but joy and jubilation were quickly dissolved in the bitter cup; the wild excitement yielded to quiet pusillanimity; they soon found themselves not wreathed with laurels, but stricken with lament; the dance of Shiva became a ritual of mourning. India seized the first opportunity to agree to cease-fire and Pakistan accepted it "in the interest of international peace and in order to enable the Security Council to evolve a self-executing procedure which will lead to an honourable settlement of the root cause of the present conflict."

Two Nations, Two Characters

To many people the world over, the 17-day war revealed, like a vivid flash of lightning, the peculiar national characteristics of India and Pakistan. When Shastri declared that India's 'victorious troops' had crossed the border and entered Pakistan, he was given a standing ovation; the announcement that they were 'embarking on an aggressive war' was acclaimed with loud cheers! Could there be a better commentary on the sadist mentality of those who still propagate the illusion of Gandhi's 'doctrine of passive resistance'?

●All foreign observers agree that it was a treacherous attack without any declaration of war. But why should India abide by the technical formalities of belligerency when they had often declared Pakistan as the eternal enemy.

●The Western war correspondents have testified to the fact that Pakistan did not resort to bombing of cities, but Indian air attacks were on civilian centres in and near Sialkot, Sargodha, Kasur, Kohat, Peshawar and Rawalpindi. "This is not war, this is deliberate terror," cried Roy Meloni of American Broadcasting Corporation.

●When the Indian propaganda guns boomed that Lahore had fallen, many took the news without the usual grain of salt. But, within two days, the foreign reporters were not even prepared to give Indian broadcasts the proverbial benefit of doubt. Most of their stories were either discarded or discounted and the Pakistani version of the war position was generally accepted to be nearest the truth. The correspondents were not even allowed within binoculer range of the fronts. For them it was an invisible war as they were tied to New Delhi. If they were winning the battles, why did they feel shy of showing their achievements to the news-hungry hounds of the press? They had not even a good memory to be consistent liars; they indulged

in tendentious reporting and fabricated morale-boosting stories which were contradicted by their own reports. It appeared to be a case of ingrained mendacity; they forgot that the creed of falsehood could carry the practitioners some distance if it were possible to invent facts.

New Hearts, New Hopes

"To some generations much is given; of other generations much is expected." To our generation much is given and much is expected; we were given Pakistan and we are expected to ensure its flowering. The war gave us a chance to "give sample of our best and . . . in our hearts . . . feel that it has been nobly done." The war imparted a new permanency to Pakistan; it established the sovereignty of the spirit that created the being of Pakistan. "Our defence is in the spirit", as Lincoln said. Thus, it was not so much a test of mechanised strength, as an ordeal of the spirit struggling to survive and discover itself. It was a challenging battle against an implacable adversary whose appetite for aggression knows no limit. But the people of Pakistan wielded "a sword of the spirit against which there was no defence in material armaments." Suffused with this spirit, they proved that what springs from the heart and mind is more powerful than atomic energy and more wonderful than an automation

plant. It is the miracle of faith when "up from the common soil, up from the great heart of the people, rise joyously streams of hope and determination that are bound to renew the face of the earth in glory."

"Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide"; it came on 6 September, 1965, and became an exciting exercise to assess and evaluate our national ego. The war wrought a mental revolution ; it has opened up new vistas of life and hope and new ways of thinking and feeling and acting. It was across a new frontier that we unfurled the real portrait of Pakistan. It was a clear-cut delineation of our national character at its best. Above all, war gave us a chance to realise, more profoundly than ever, that East and West Pakistan are two eyes of the country with the State of Pakistan like the nose which not only lends them beauty but forms a bridge on which both the eyes are resting. They are like a pair of scissors in which the two blades are so pivoted that they can only work by leverage against each other ; they are like two wings of a bird ; if you clip one wing you impair the locomotive ability of the other ; they are like a coin which has two sides and yet it is one metallic whole. The war told us that we are one organic whole ; if we destroy the respiratory apparatus of one, the other will expire gasping for breath . . .

We have been in the furnace and shown our mettle. The war has proved that our army is invincible, the spirit of the people unconquerable and the citadel of Pakistan impregnable. "No matter how much aid India receives from the United States, she would never be able lo defeat Pakistan", concluded *Statist* in a war review. The Pakistani soldier is saturated with a spirit that staggers imagination; stories of his personal valour have already acquired a legendary halo in Pakistan and the world. For him, courage is a variant of virtue and to perform a heroic deed a part of his duty. Three weeks after ceasefire, Mr. Shastri said in Bombay that one Indian soldier was equal to 30 Pakistani soldiers. The *Hindu* of Madras, in a report from Delhi, captioned "Lesson of Conflict with Pakistan," quoted "Indian authorities" as saying that "for an attempt to give a complete knock-out to Pakistan and occupy the entire territory, India would need at least three times the present size of the army as well as equipment." What ratio does it establish and what are its numerical implications: "The Indian Army is already more than six times of the Pakistan Army, and the quantum of the former's arms and equipment is many times more. But even if the ratio is considered to be six to one, the combat parity estimated by the "Indian authorities" amounts to saying that India would need an army 24 times more numerous than that of Pakistan

before it can defeat Pakistan. In other words, according to the Indian calculations, one Pakistani soldier is equal to 24 Indian soldiers."

How is it that despite her continental size, numerical superiority, vast resources, war preparedness, and deploying 11 divisions and 3 brigades, India's army 'could barely fight Pakistan to a standoff.' Why was India 'soundly beaten' by a nation whom she outnumbered by six to one in size of armed forces? According to foreign journalists, who visited the war theatres, Pakistan has 'one of the toughest and best-trained army in the world', 'the Pakistani is a born soldier', 'Pakistani young men are feareless and brave'. But these are perhaps partial explanations because you could still insist on asking: Why we are what we are? What makes a people distinct and how do they imbibe and cultivate these mental and martial qualities? It is tempting to attribute this "differentness" to Islam, a virile and inspirational religion, and to traditional Muslim habits of eating. Faith and food are potent levers but, in the final analysis, we have to be content with saying that these are imponderables of character which are revealed in supreme moments of trial. It is the moral quintessence squeezed out of centuries; it cannot be acquired in a day or a decade. It is the extract which trickles down the crucible of time; it cannot be

distilled in a laboratory. It is the cumulative fruit of historical factors which are as powerful as they are indiscernible.

India's Debit Balance

Does it pay to wage a war? "Who won a given war" would be like asking, "who won the Tashkent earthquake?" Realising the horrific consequences of modern wars, men of goodwill believe that 'there is no alternative to peace'. But, for India, 'there was no alternative to war.' They fought a 17-day bloody and bitter war with a neighbour, but do the people of India know the colossal cost of their Government's failure to defeat Pakistan in the battlefield? The current debit balance was that they lost 1200 square miles in East Punjab and Rajasthan as against 275 square miles of Pakistan territory they occupied in Lahore and Sialkot sectors. It was bound to be an under-estimate when their Defence Minister conceded that India had suffered about 12,000 casualties. What about 110 aircrafts lost and 475 tanks irreparably damaged? No wonder, the first fiscal casualty was India's depleted foreign exchange resources; on Mrs. Indira Gandi's own admission 'the country was facing the most crucial test' and they shall have to go through 'hell and fire' to achieve economic stability. As *The Financial Times* observed, "India was already finan-

cially weak and could hardly stand on her feet without foreign aid while Pakistan, because of her progress during the last few years, was capable of withstanding stoppage of foreign aid for a long time." It is said that India's belated decision to devalue the rupee was due to drought and conflict with Pakistan. In fact the dwindling value of the Indian rupee and the vicious spiral of rising prices was largely due to war because, for Indian rulers, the choice between guns and grains was clear when they made a reckless use of precious economic aid and diverted all their peacetime resources to defence build-up.

The Paramount Lesson

The war has opened a book of lessons which are difficult to unlearn. We and the world should know more about a neighbour with whom we have miles and miles of common frontiers but, alas, no contiguity of ideas and outlook on the problems confronting us. For Indian rulers, the Kashmir conflict is still part of the wider struggle in the subcontinent which led to the partition of the country. Thus, the September war was neither the beginning nor the end of India's crush-Pakistan campaign; but is this state of confrontation interminable? There is little hope because Mrs. Gandhi is ready to discuss any subject, from cosmos to soyabeans, but not talk on Kashmir. Is she not perturbed because end to the fighting

means for India return to a *status quo?* If this war was triggered by the deteriorating situation in Kashmir, have we not to find a solution before the situation again gets out of hand? If Tashkent Declaration is foredoomed, does it portend another uprising in Kashmir and another war with Pakistan? Is Kashmir so irretrievably stuck in the quagmire of Indian and world politics that rescue operations shall have to be on a bigger scale ?

It is true that the war marked the end of an era —an era of illusion hugged by the West that India would not aggress against Pakistan. It is also true that India was universally condemned as aggressor ; she stood alone and isolated during the war and not a little finger was raised to support her military adventurism against Pakistan. But she is already recovering from the censure and the big powers are again silent on the basic issue between India and Pakistan.

In fact, the war has brought in full relief the whole gamut of our relations with superpowers. India has already received five shiploads of military equipment from Soviet Russia ; she is also getting enormous economic assistance from the United States, but there are indications that her rulers are again cannibalizing their aid resources into defence channels. Despite her abysmal economic crisis,

India is spending more than £ 3 million per day on the building up of a formidable military force. For Pakistan, it means 'no lowering of the guards, no let-up in defence effort'; in other words, another armaments race is in the offing. Is it going to be 'balance of power' or 'balance of terror'?

CHAPTER VI

BALANCE OF TERROR

BALANCE OF TERROR

If the United Nations Organization follows the League of Nations to the grave, this epitaph could be deeply inscribed on its tombstone : Here lies buried the United version of divided nations. It could debate but not decide a dispute ; when it could decide a dispute, it could not enforce the decision; when it could enforce the decision, it could not supersede the superpowers. The shock that it had power to use but could not use the power killed it . . .

They say "it is better to jaw than to war", but what is the future of this parliament of man, this forum of world, this hope of humanity. The United Nations is expected to be strong enough to save mankind from the holocaust of a nuclear warfare but can mankind save it from dissolution ? Whatever its aims and authorities and its ambition to become a supraworld power, the tragedy is that this great organisation is crippled by its own organs.

The Security Council holds the managing agency and the General Assembly consists of impotent shareholders who are either bought over or silenced by company bosses. Veto is the hottest weapon of

the cold war armoury ; it is the most effective tool in the hands of a most ineffective organisation. The Security Council is not a conscience-keeper but a gate-keeper who may or may not let you enter the mansion if you are armed with a petition. When war breaks out, they often show leopard-like agility in arranging a cease-fire but begin to creep at snail's pace when it comes to implementing the political part of its resolutions.

Thus, as a collective entity, the United Nations has no teeth but only long curly hair where all the disputes are enmeshed and gently subjected to the corrosion of time. It has no bludgeon to deter the aggressors but only a broom to sweep away the wreckage of disputes brought to its bar. It will not be so hypothetical if somebody summed up the position like this : If there is a dispute between two small nations, the dispute dies; if there is a dispute between a small nation and a big nation, the small nation dies ; if there is a dispute between two big nations, the United Nations dies . . .

In common parlance it would mean that the success or failure of United Nations in a given dispute is a mirror of power politics at a given moment; whenever the superpowers decide to use the world organization as a "court of first resort", they have never failed to use it for their own international

interests. Even the present U. N. Secretary-General had to admit that "the conception of power politics whether as instrument of nationalism or of ideological extremism, is the natural enemy of international order as envisaged in the Charter." It appears that the United Nations is seated on an oscillating chair; the hands that rock the cradle rule the world.

What is the fate and future of small nations in a body whose spinal cord and nervous system is controlled by superpowers. More often than not, the grim choice before them is either to be roasted in the frying pan or burn in the fire. They can only hope to secure the support of one power bloc if they can venture to incur the hostility of the other power bloc. We have to stomach the truth they owe their independence "either to the balance of power, or to the preponderance of one protecting power, or to their lack of attractiveness for imperialistic aspirations."

This explains why the United Nations acted swiftly in the Suez and Congo crises, but failed to adopt the same procedure in resolving the Kashmir conflict. According to some, Kashmir became a cold war casualty after Pakistan became a member of regional defence alliances. Thus, in spite of unequivocal U. N. resolutions calling for a plebiscite in Kashmir, the dispute could not be settled because

the simple issue of self-determination was 'thrust onto the scene of world politics.' The Soviet Russia decided to exercise the devastating power of the veto each time the Kashmir issue came up for discussion in the Security Council. Dr. Josef Korbel (a member of the United Nations Commission) forewarned in the early fifties that any further postponement of the solution would unnecessarily project Kashmir into the context of global politics. According to him, "As to Kashmir, she has been to the Communists one among many theatres of political and military warfare ever since the inception of the conflict. To them a divided Kashmir is another divided Korea, another divided Indo-China, another divided Germany, another Austria. If Kashmir were united through democratic process and under democratic rule, the Communist spearhead, aimed as it is today against the subcontinent, would be blunted, and this area would enter the sphere of the free world. No one realizes these international implications of the Kashmir conflict better than the Communists."

What he said then has not much relevance today because the scene of cold war has shifted and new international alignments are shaping the contours of power politics. But the fact is that Nehru made political capital out of the situation which he thought had changed after Pakistan became a reci-

pient of American military aid. He roared that cold war had been brought to India's door and India was no longer bound to honour her commitments as "the whole context in which these agreements were made" had changed. Mr. Nehru tried to justify his opposition to military pacts because he was prompted by "an honest desire to keep his country in isolation in the war of ideologies, indeed to keep as large an area in the world free from the fever of the war mentality". He described it as a policy of non-alignment. But the essence of his neutrality was found to have more empirical than doctrinaire basis. Nehru was prepared to accept Soviet aid without any pricks of conscience and yet he saw no harm in getting American aid in large quantities, subject only to the availability of shipping space. Mr. Nehru's neutrality was a misnomer; India pursued a policy of negative diplomacy as it assured her of positive gains.

One of Nehru's pet excuses for not agreeing to a plebiscite in Kashmir was that Pakistan's acceptance of U.S. military aid had become a threat to non-aligned India but, today, as *Christian Science Monitor* has observed: "The wheel has turned full circle and it is India herself which appears to be canvassing for a joint U.S.-Formosa-India military and intelligence liaison." Thus, the nectar of non-alignment is not so delicious for a country

like India, because not only the nature of neutrality has changed but even its conceptual basis is being determined by the exigencies of new power patterns. For the old non-aligned group of nations, neutrality has forsaken its garment, but perhaps retains its circean glamour to tempt the two power blocs and secure maximum aid. Is there not a growing resentment in India that Mrs. Indra Gandhi has surrendered to dollar diplomacy? Similarly the Americans feel that Soviet Russia has a powerful leverage on U.A.R. economy and Nasser is not competent to receive aid from the United States.

But the Indians still cling to the myth of non-alignment, which "ought to have been exploded by clash with China and the West's support for India." In fact, India's new policy is demonstrative of a conduct about which Nehru must have the last word. On 2 March, 1959, Nehru had said: "If you object to military aid being given to Pakistan, we would be hypocrites and unprincipled opportunists to accept aid ourselves." How and why, after three years, Nehru reversed his stand and begged for military aid is no longer a mystery; in fact it was this self-condemnation which helped India to win the heart of Pakistan's Western allies. Thus, Nehru's claim to neutralism was proven false and many felt that Indian politicians provoked the Chinese in

order to obtain arms 'without admitting the errors of their past policies.' The objective was to drive a wedge in Pakistan-United States relations ; the result was an arms race—and a war. Stories of an impending Chinese invasion of India could not be accepted even at a discount, but Pakistan could not take all the wind out of the Indian sail because it was a case of mutual woeing ; for Nehru it was a unique opportunity to strike a new balance of power; for the Western donors it was the last chance to bring India within the ambit of their global strategy, for if 'India is lost, Asia is lost'. The encounter with China dimmed India's image as a strong Asian country but, for the West, it was productive of new hopes to contain Chinese Communism. The so-called Sino-Soviet ideological conflict may be another variant of power politics ; for the Russian leaders, India's border war with China was considered an opportune moment to build up India as an alternate Asian power.

Thus, the Americans have equated China with their 'Asian frustrations' and the Soviets have equated India with the highest potential to curb China's international influence. It is a weird wedlock because the two suitors have agreed to share the bliss of arming their spouse against the inroads of her Himalayan neighbour. With the end of atomic preponderance and the emergence of China

as a nuclear power, the cold war between the United States and Soviet Russia has lost much of its chilliness. The Americans believe that Soviets are becoming more 'sophisticated' and 'the steam has gone out of their world revolution'. The Russians believe that Americans have ceased to be "messianic" and are showing a new co-existential urge. Thus, the context and climate of superpower relationship has changed, but China still remains the common factor and the yellow peril an ubiquitous issue. During the Indo-Pakistan war, the American and Soviet members of the Security Council showed a degree of unanimity which was as rare as it was suspicious. They were so 'like-minded' that they almost acted as allies both inside and outside the United Nations.

Where do we stand ? If India has become a 'bridge' between the United States and Soviet Russia, is Pakistan a 'barrier' which defeats their declared objective to contain Chinese Communism ? If India is a 'broker' between East and West, is Pakistan a 'breaker' of this alliance ? India's Foreign Minister said the other day that "non-alignment has earned India rich dividends in the past and secured her the support of opposing military blocs represented by United States and Soviet Russia". The late John Foster Dulles would have accused India of bigamy, but much water has flown down river

Potomac since neutrality was considered immoral. America today regards China and India as two opposing poles of power, and has even ruled out the chances of their competitive co-existence. Even before the Sino-Indian clash, the popular American thinking was that India was Asia's largest democratic nation, and their 'most important non-communist revolution' must succeed. Speaking on the stake in the contest between India and China President Kennedy said that "the outcome of this competition will vitally affect the future of all Asia. We want India to win that race with Red China. We want India to be a free and thriving *leader of a free and thriving Asia*."

Thus, India was enthroned as a leader because she is the most populous democracy in the world! As a leader must have followers, what role Pakistan and India's smaller neighbours are expected to play? Making due allowance for American ideological fervour to achieve 'world-wide victory for freedom,' it is difficult to disguise the developments of recent years. During 1962-63, the Anglo-Americans showed great diplomatic initiative in bringing about a rapprochement between India and Pakistan on the basis of Kashmir settlement; no agreement could be expected and all hopes were nullified but simultaneously ground was being prepared for a new shift of military alliances in the subcontinent. In other

words, Pakistan was summarily relegated to a secondary position because India agreed to fall in line with the Western military strategy in this part of the world. As a sympathetic American commentator has observed : "There is a grave danger that our new post-1962 friendship with India will cause Americans to forget the grave difficulties placed in our way by earlier Indian policies, and that Pakistan's obsessive preoccupation with Kashmir will try our patience and cause us to forget Pakistan's loyalty of earlier years." It appears to us that they want to buy friends and not cultivate friends. They do not even hesitate to discard old allies when they are tempted by a bigger bait. When they see a whale splashing its way along the Statue of Liberty, they give up the smaller fries. What is more, nets of the finest fabric are spread to entangle the new entrants.

The United States official spokesmen had always given the assurance that in case of a war between India and Pakistan, they would support the victim of aggression. That they did not come to our assistance is perhaps only a part of the story because it appears that India had succeeded in assuring our allies that her troops would be able to overrun large parts of Pakistan. When they began to receive military aid, the Indian rulers knew that we would vehemently protest ; they perhaps also knew that our

protests would be ignored; they even believed that in case of an armed conflict, Pakistan's Western allies would just stand by and wait for the result. Pakistan sensed the danger when President Ayub warned that "peace in this area may become the victim of considerations of power politics which inhibit some of the big powers from taking precisely the kind of action that would help establish it."

Many look to America for the espousal of just causes because she is in a strong economic and military position not to play the game of power politics. Some are still inclined to give her benefit of doubt and attribute her failures to mistakes in judgment. But, the fact is that the whole content and style of American foreign policy has changed. The switch-over from the isolationist to the globalist strategy has engendered a vision which is both unrealistic and dangerous. "The idea of being responsible for the whole world," as Senator Fulbright said, "is flattering to the Americans but I am afraid it has turned our heads." This self-assigned world role has led to the fatal error that military posture can be dictated by military power.

Splitting atoms, launching satellites and any day landing on moon and mars are hot topics that hit the headlines everyday. The terminology and practice of these scientific ventures has subtly crept into the

political thinking of superpowers. As the United States began to wear a global garb she began to look upon itself as the sun and all other countries as planets revolving round it and depending on it for their sustenance. They cannot move on their axis without basking in the sunshine of the parent star and, in turn, the smaller satellites cannot safely roll on their courses without following the weightier body. Thus, to impart a real celestial look to this hierarchical structure, the Americans want to see the spectacle of all satellites circling round their big neighbours. If aid-givers are to dictate policy, Pakistan should move along the trajectory set by the Pentagon. But they have failed to find a perigee which could bring Pakistan and India nearer because their expectations are based on certain assumptions which are not true. For Pakistan to orbit round India would be to disown the destiny allotted to her.

The critics of American Administration have called it 'arrogance of power' which often leads to sanctimonious self-righteousness. This self-righteous posture has produced a class of ugly Americans. They are so anxious to promote democracy that they often lend support to corrupt and reactionary regimes. They believe they are so wedded to freedom that they feel it their bounden duty to police the world. They are so keen to fight aggression that they have to have a larger percentage of C.I.A. men on the

staff of their foreign missions. It is an appalling contrast between power and knowledge matched against wisdom and perspective. The Vietnam war pathetically points out their colossal strength and sheer impotence. Perhaps the gravitational pull of the dollar will soon begin to dissipate if Americans refuse to see themselves as others see them. It will pay to listen to Chinese sage Lao-tzu : "Discard righteousness and the people will regain the love of their fellows."

How is it that "economic support from the United States sparks off anti-American sentiments even when it is given without strings" ? The only explanation seems to be that America has failed to uphold the values of friendship even when she was on strong moral grounds to support an ally. It was in these circumstances that Pakistan opted for bilateralism and tried to carve out an independent foreign policy. It was a choice between friends and masters. "Change is the law of life—and that includes international life", but can we afford to halloo until we are out of the wood ? The Pakistan-India-China triangle is still loaded with problems which we can only ignore at our peril. The company which directs this policy of bi-alignment has declared dividends. The United States has resumed economic aid to India on a stupendous scale ; and we know how adept are her rulers in changing the gear from industry to defence produc-

tion. There is also no lack of Russian "altruism"; carrying heavy tanks, M.I.G. 21's, missiles and arms and ammunition, five Soviet ships landed at Calcutta four months after Tashkent declaration was signed. It seems that the understanding they had reached with the United States during the war has been extended to cover post-war exigencies. Are they arming India against China whom they have pledged to defend in the eventuality of an American attack? And, is this the recipe for easing tensions in the subcontinent?

India's new defence budget shows the mad ambition of India's military planners who are raising an army of one million strong and an air force of 125,000 complete with the latest weapons and a modern armaments industry. Is it promoting 'balance of power' or creating 'balance of terror'? The so-called balance of power is a deceptive synonym for an arms race. Power cannot be poised and all attempt to equilibrate the weight of the war machine bring the zero hour nearer. When they clamour, in popular parlance, that the balance of power is upset, it is an urgent plea for more tanks, more guns, more bombers, more bullets. Thus the whole peacetime planning is subordinated to war purposes. And even a sparklet can lead to a conflagration.

Is the new support to India a bye-product of the recurring cold war or a political fall-out of China's third nuclear explosion ? Is the West heavily arming India to make her stand against China ? The rain from the clouds of cold war has led to a crop of illusions about India which deserve to be demolished. Let us sift fact from fancy.

CHAPTER VII

FACT AND FANCY

FACT AND FANCY

They have given India a romantic importance. The projected image of India in the world is that she is (1) a model of democracy ; (2) a secular state ; (3) land of non-violence ; (4) a geographical and political unit ; (5) a country of Hindus and (6) a deserving leader of Asia. If the wheel of life could move on myths, we shall all be living in an eternal utopian island where fiction-mongers thrive and fact-finders starve. But can we divorce reality to feed a fantasy ? It may not be intellectually very stimulating to disrobe the Indian circe. But we have to remove the transparent tulle ; the encounter with truth need not be postponed.

MYTH NUMBER ONE

The Indian democracy has become as sacred to class Americans as the Indian cow is to caste Hindus. The survival of Indian democracy has become a test case ; its success will be Western triumph in promoting 'the cause of freedom' in Asia ; its eclipse will lead to chain reaction in neighbouring nations. The Indian state must succeed 'as a free state in an environment of freedom' or the consequences for Asia would be hard to exaggerate.

All astute foreign observers and independent Indians agree that the Indian democracy has the paraphernalia of a modern representative government, but its functional apparatus is out of gear. The facade of Indian democracy cannot shroud its failures; its appeal is on the surface but the core is being corroded by the inclement climate of casteism, traditionalism, parochialism, and all the attendant evils of an outmoded social system.

Democracy must enter the hearts and minds of a people before it can enter the precincts of parliamentary houses or come to be written into a Constitution. It has to be cultivated as an attitude, formed as a habit and acquired as a way of life before it can be taken for granted. Secondly, democracy can only flourish if it is allowed to grow as an indigenous plant; it can only be of the soil if it springs from the soil.

President Radhakrishnan of India is sure that "what we have in India today is not real democracy but only a phoney democracy. If we are true democrats which, I may say, we are not, there would not have been so much of discontent and ill-will. Then we would not have any kind of nepotism, corruption and communal prejudice which have brought down the country to degradation." "The Organiser" of Delhi has accused Congress of misusing its 'unlimited

powers' because it has exploited the tradition 'to establish a form of despotism under the garb and trappings of democracy.' Mr. Frank Moraes, an Indian Editor, sees Indian democracy "poised on a razor's edge, dependent as it has been for many years on one party and a single leader faced by a nominal and divided opposition."

If the essence of democracy is tolerance, why India's multitudinous minorities are living in deadly peril of anything happening to them any moment? If the basis of democracy is rule of law, why are non-Hindus denied protection of the police and courts? If the ideal of democracy is that no people should be ruled against their will, why are the Kashmiri Muslims denied the right of self-determination?

It is not fair to accuse India of things she has not done. She has done nothing to keep alive the spirit of democracy. Indian democracy is a precarious assumption; the odds are that the country would either slide into chaos or break up into small totalitarian states. (*see Conclusion*)

MYTH NUMBER TWO

What do they mean when they say that India is a secular State? And, more pertinently, why do they say it? They cannot say that secularism is the negation of spiritual and religious values because

they hysterically preach and practise Hinduism. It could only mean that, in a secular State, there is complete equality of citizenship irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within the country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship.

If these are fundamental rights which should be guaranteed by the constitution and courts, Indian secularism is a hoax; it has drawn a veil over its face, but it is as deceptive as it is thin. In India of today, every official function is inaugurated with recitations from the old Hindu scriptures; foundation-laying is always preceded and followed by Hindu rituals; every occasion is observed with the singing of Hindu hymns; and every celebration becomes a crescendo of Hindu mantras. What is more, they expect all non-Hindus to stew in the Hindu juice before they can even claim to live in the country.

New states have been created in India on a linguistic basis, but the principle of provincial autonomy applies only to Hindu majority areas. There is no consideration for Kashmiri Muslims, Naga Christians and Punjabi Sikhs; in fact they have acquired the category of a new caste because they are all non-Hindus.

British missionary Michael Scott, expelled from India for 'prejudical activities' fears that "if no political proposals are made, and if the terms of a durable peace are not agreed then another blood-bath in Nagaland is inevitable." The Uttar Pardesh Government in India has declared as criminal the four tribes of Sikhs inhabiting Tarai area.

But the greatest concentration of hostility is against the Muslims. As Indian Muslims are Pakistan's co-religionists they are looked upon as an army of conspirators, agents and spies. A Jan Sangh leader, Thakur Prashad, declared in Patna that "if the Muslims wanted to live in Bharat, they will have to remain at the mercy of the Hindus." At a meeting held at Ganjoti on 13 September 1964, Vikram Savarkar, a Hindu Mahasabha leader, said : "The Muslims should know that Congress cannot protect them, because in Calcutta and other cities thousands of Muslims were looted and killed, but the Congress Government could do nothing. Muslims are like ants and they should be crushed." At the same meeting, V. R. Patel, President of the Maharashtra Hindu Sabha, said : "Muslims are dishonest ; they should be killed and looted. Their dead bodies should not be buried but be burnt."

Could anybody have said anything more atrocious anywhere in the contemporary world? Could

anything be more mortifying to 60-million Muslim minority—more numerous than the combined population of France and Scandinavian countries. As Mr. Badruddin, a Muslim member of Indian Parliament, lamented: "The Muslim minority has no recognition, no appreciation, no encouragement, no facilities, no opportunity for self-expression, politically, socially, culturally, economically or even physically." The "Sidq-i-Jadid" of Lucknow, India, pleaded that "Muslims of India would prefer India being declared a Hindu state to its present-day farcical secularism." In the course of a speech in the Indian Parliament a former Mayor of Calcutta called this secularism "a snare and a delusion, a fraud and a deception." Mr. Frank Anthony, a leader of the Anglo-Indian community, was heckled and could not complete his speech in the Indian Parliament because he warned that "India is faced with a supreme crisis of national and secular values and the direction we take and, above all, the action, if any, that we take will determine not only whether we (Indians) survive as a democracy but whether we (Indians) survive as a nation."

The communal carnage in India has become a matter of routine; anti-Muslim riots periodically erupt like an earthquake with all its proverbial tremors and, suddenly, all the Hindus are in a fiery molten state. To use a medical term, it is both a pestilence and a malignant tumour because it starts like plague and spreads like a cancer. There

have been more than 600 communal riots in India since independence. If the average is worked out there is a blood bath in India every ninth day. Even parasitic cows cannot be slaughtered, but human beings, citizens of India, are sacrificially massacred to propitiate the goddess Kali.

Thus, India is bound to be 'secular' State, because she is multi-lingual, multi-racial, multi-religious ! And, they have to say it because they have to sanctify brute Hindu majority rule. And, they have to repeat it everyday because there is trouble everyday and everywhere—the Nagas claim independence, the Sikhs demand a separate state, and the Kashmiris are determined to throw off the Indian yoke.

MYTH NUMBER THREE

Image-making may not appear to be an exhilirating mental exercise if we realise how dangerous it can be to fly from facts. Few care to catalogue India's crimes against her minorities because many are led to believe Gandhi's message of peace and creed of non-violence. But the doctrine of *ahimsa* was soon found to be an expedient tool as they had no force at their disposal during the struggle for independence. Gandhi recommended that 'one should take to the sword and fight if one could not fight non-violently with courage'. The Mahatma put it more categorically when he added, "if India had

possessed a sword to fight the British, it would not have listened to his gospel of non-violence."

Thus, for Gandhi, it was only 'non-violence of the weak' or, as Mr. F. P. Power quotes him as saying: "Non-violence was a temporary ideal to secure India's independence". Mrs. Annie Besant, a disciple of Gandhi, thought that the foundation of Indian nationality was laid "on the records of Ramchandra, the Hindu hero king of the Ramayana, and other ancient sages and warriors". Dr. Percival Spears observes that "non-violence to a Gujerati does not mean Tolstoyan non-resistance to evil; it means using non-violent means to get your own way, with the emphasis on getting your own way."

The President of India had no moral doubts when he said, "India will be able to settle the problem only by having strength with which to back her bargaining power." A former Defence Minister of India said: "You are aware we have not abjured violence in regard to any country . . ." According to an Indian scholar, "No one is likely to understand the actions of the Hindu Government of India in the international sphere during the last fifteen years without recognising the existence of a strong undercurrent of militarism among the people of the country."

"Apart from the Buddhist and Jain heresies", Sardar Pannikar wonders, "what religious basis there is in Hinduism for the form of pacifism which has come, for some strange reason, to be associated with the Hindus. The Hindu theory at all times, especially in the periods of India's historic greatness, was one of active assertion of rights, if necessary through the force of arms. It is not for *ahimsa* (non-violence) and pacifism that Ramchandra stands in Indian (Hindu) religion; it is for an active assertion of what is morally right. Nor does Krishna stand for non-violence."

India's much-advertised adherence to the Gandhian ideal of non-violence has already been debunked because there are more witnesses than clients to testify to the outbursts of mass Hindu violence.

MYTH NUMBER FOUR

'Pakistan is good but united India would have been better' sums up the spirit of a general refrain in some recent books by British writers. The British created order out of chaos; they consolidated the country and centralised its administration but, alas, they had to leave India as they found it . . .

According to Kingsley Martin, "the Hindus have not forgiven the Muslim League for destroying the unity of the subcontinent when the British agreed to independence." He is right because they still believe that "Bharat-Varsha is one and indivisible. Our motherland has a soul within her integral physical boundary. Any partition, spiritual or physical, is artificial, illegal, immoral and against the laws of nature."

The militant Hindu Mahasabha has declared that "there will never be peace unless and until the separated areas are brought back into the Indian Union and made integral parts thereof." Mr. S.R. Patel, author of 'Foreign Policy of India', regards the creation of Pakistan as "a major threat to the safety of India and her geographical unity is broken . . . The dwindling of the base of the Indian nation by this unnatural division has seriously weakened India and may imperil her very freedom. Militarily, strategically, economically, historically, culturally and geographically, the reunion of the nation is imperative." Thus Hindu politicians and intellectuals want to convince the world that "geography and the mountains and the seas fashioned India as she is and no human agency can change that shape or come in the way of her final destiny."

It is true that India's physical frontiers are set by sea, but the fact is that she has no "inner geographical unity . . . it would appear that the area south of the Vindhiachals has hardly any connection with the rest of the subcontinent. In the same way, the Indian Basin and the Ganges-Brahmaputra Basin which broadly represent West and East Pakistan respectively would seem to be self-contained geographical (and economic) units. Similarly Rajputana should be regarded as a self-contained arid zone. The diversity in natural geography has resulted in a variety of climate in the subcontinent."

Secondly, there is no evidence in recorded history that, before Muslim rule, India was ever consolidated into a single political unit. It was always a politically split subcontinent and, even under Ashoka's rule, large chunks of the population refused to be under the sway and surveillance of any central authority. The Muslim kings were able to bring the country under one central administrative control but, as cracks appeared in the Mughal ship, the provincial governors declared their independence. In fact, it was the endemic political disunity which paved the way for the new conquerors. Modern means of communications, introduced by the British, not only served the ends of law and order but

strengthened the administration under a strong central government. Roads and railways opened up the country for contacts and colonisation; posts and telegraphs brought distant places mentally nearer; the inland water transport promoted trade and traffic and provided a meeting platform for the people who no longer liked to look like strangers.

But the fact is that the British were largely prompted by military and political reasons; whether the ideal was integration or creation of new provincial units, their decisions and policies were dictated by considerations of imperial good. As Churchill said, "India is a continent as large and more populous than Europe, and no less deeply divided by racial and religious differences than Europe. India has no more unity than Europe, except that superficial unity which has been created by our rule and guidance in the last 150 years." Miss Mayo, an American journalist, visited India in the twenties. She could clearly see that the population was made up of racial, religious and cultural strains. She meaningly dedicated her famous book "Mother India" to *the peoples of India*.

How is it that the campaign of Hindu nationalism and the relaxation of British power in India coincided? Hindu revivalism is a product of British rule; the cry of Ram Raj was heard only

after the British conquered India. A stable unitary Government, a consolidated country, and, above all, majority rule under the British pattern of democracy: for the first time in their history, the Hindus felt that an empire was at their feet.

Bankin Chandra Chatterji, the reputed Bengali novelist, became a symbol of this new awareness among the Hindus during the second half of the nineteenth century. He composed Bande Matram, a blatantly anti-Muslim song, which is still the national anthem of India. In his novel "Anandamath" (Abbey of Bliss), a supernatural character tells the lowly people that destiny had ordained that the British rule over India would become instrumental in the resurrection of Hinduism. The writer puts a few confessional words into the mouth of Satyananda : "What is going to happen now is for the best. If the English do not rule there is no hope of revival of our eternal faith. Therefore we must make the English rule. Under the English rule our people will be happy. . . The English are friends as well as rulers."

MYTH NUMBER FIVE

Mr. Ronald Segal has poetically described India as a country where "Hinduism pervades the sounds and the sights like the ubiquitous sunlight . . . All are manifestations of that Hinduism which belongs

to India as blood to the body. For Hinduism is the flow of India's life as catholicism is the flow of life in medieval Europe." It is very tempting to identify India with Hinduism, but it is better to have a closer look at the components of the present Indian society before we assess the situation on the basis of presumptions which may prove to be wrong.

The protagonists of a pure Hindu state thought that a Hindu majority rule would be automatically and permanently established if it was conceded that India is a 'political unity' and is 'geographically one.' As Pakistan represented the first strong link in the separatist chain and the danger mounted that the other parts of the Indian Union might secede, they have come out openly with the assertion that India is for Hindus and Hindus for India. The whole world has come to recognise that India is a country of political plurality, geographical diversities and has separate cultural territories, but Hindu revivalists refuse to see or hear anything contrary to their preconceived premises.

Addressing a rally of his organisation at Nagpur on 14 October, 1965, the Rashtria Sevak Sangh chief M. S. Golwalker said : "Hindustan is the land of Hindus, and it is the *terra firma* of the Hindu nation alone to flourish upon, and Bharat Rashtra is Hindu Rashtra, and prosperity of Bharat means

establishing a Hindu Rashtra." He described Muslims and Christians "not as sons of the soil, but as saboteurs, enemies, aggressors and thieves, to be exterminated or to be absorbed and completely merged in the Hindu religion and culture." He was furious that the Indian Constitution had given equal rights to all citizens and had "equated the children of the soil (Hindus) with the aggressors—Muslims and Christians—giving equal rights to everybody, just as a person without understanding may give full rights to the thieves in his house and distribute the property among all . . . We repeat, in Hindustan, the land of Hindus, lives and should live the Hindu nation."

The only way to examine the calculus of their claim is to let the population figures speak and settle the issue. Estimates of India's total population range from 450 to 400 million. Making a reasonable allowance for Indian Government's propagandist zeal to inflate the figures, let us take it at 420 million. Including Kashmir, the total Muslim population in India approximates 60 million. The Sikhs Christians, Parsis, Anglo-Indians and non-Hindus inhabiting tribal areas would account for another 15 million.

Are 95 million Untouchables or members of the depressed classes Hindus? In 1920, Sir T. W. Holderness wrote: "The depressed classes in India form a vast multitude . . . A question that is agitating

Hinduism at the present moment is as to whether these classes should be counted as *Hindus or not*. Ten years ago the answer would have been emphatically in the negative. Even now the conservative feeling of the country is for their exclusion . . . more than one-third of the supposed total Hindu population is not accepted by Hindus as a part of themselves."

After five decades, the fringe of the problem has not been touched ; even today, nineteen years after independence, "a handful of stronger castes enjoy all the rights and constitutional guarantees exist only on paper", as a Scheduled Castes leader protested in the Indian Parliament. As they have never shared social life and political power with caste Hindus and it is the clamorous caste Hindus who want hundred per cent Hinduisation of India, the presumption is that the Untouchables are and shall remain outside the pale of Hinduism for all practical and political purposes. Thus, the caste Hindus are not more than 250 million, a precarious majority of less than sixty per cent in a total population of 420 million.

As the caste Hindus still say that "we shall not rest content till Pakistan is destroyed and merged with Bharat," let us see what is their numerical position in the subcontinent as a whole. Pakistan's

Hindu minority is 10 million out of a population of 100 million. Even if we concede that all the Hindus in Pakistan are caste Hindus, there are not more than 260 million caste Hindus out of 520 million who live in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. They are just fifty per cent of the total population but, in the name of Hindu nationalism, they claim the entire subcontinent and just dispose of the other fifty per cent!

MYTH NUMBER SIX

Mythology is not a thing of the past; it is being practised today by rational and responsible leaders of the enlightened West. Is it not mumbo jumbo of the atomic age to elevate India to a position which she neither deserves at present nor can she hope to achieve in the foreseeable future. In spite of known facts and authentic reports, they think that India can win the race against China. They are so desperately anxious to see Peking beaten by New Delhi that they have begun to believe that she has already won the race. Perhaps when we see a mirage, one illusion leads to another till we are reawakened by reality. According to Mr. Kenneth Galbraith, "India today is one of the success stories of Asia. Red China by contrast is a failure !"

Mr. Felix Greene has rightly called it an "Alice-in-Wonderland interpretation", because the

experts are trying to "convince the American people that the remarkable progress in China has been a disaster for the Chinese people, and that India's stagnation is really "the better way".

It is a "better way" because India may be facing all the difficulties of a developing economy; she may be faltering at present, but she must be assured of her future because she follows 'a route in keeping with human dignity and individual freedom.' Thus, India has a magnetic attraction; there is no immediate danger of disenchantment, because her race with China has to determine the fortunes of the raging cold war.

Mutuality is not only the essence of love; it is also the basis of more mundane business. India urgently needed a border clash with China to save her languishing economy. For the West it was a windfall, a lifetime opportunity and, as Senator John Sparkman said, "we ought not to be discouraging India at the very time she is *moving in the direction we have been wanting her to move for a long time.*"

Why can't India settle her border differences with China when Burma, Nepal and Pakistan have done it? But settlement with China would weaken her candidature for securing Western aid. Compromise with China would expose her woeful dependence

on foreign assistance. The only way to win Western favours is to ensure that the dispute with China is not resolved. In other words, India wants to extort maximum economic and military aid from the West without admitting that lethargy, bad planning and military mania had driven her to the brink of bankruptcy. Thus India had to opt for involvement in cold war ; she decided not to reach a settlement with China.

It is a big battle between India and China; what will be the outcome of this competition ?

Here is a comparative study made in 1962; during the last four years the gap has manifestly become graver. The war with Pakistan, food famine and depleted foreign exchange resources have administered a blow to Indian economy from which she may or may not recover.

"Though left in 1947 by Britain with a more advanced industrial base, India by 1962 had increased her steel production only to 3,707,000 metric tons. China that, prior to 1949 had never produced more than two million tons of steel had, by 1960, increased production to 18.4 million metric tons, five times the production of India (or about twice the Japanese steel production at the time of Pearl Harbour).

China's grain production in 1962 was estimated at 185 million metric tons; India's grain production for the same year was eighty million metric tons. Allowing for differences of population, this indicates that China's per capita grain production was 56 per cent higher than India's.

By 1960, India's rate of investment was barely one-tenth of her national income ; in China it was three times higher.

China's rate of industrial growth in the decade before 1960 was about three times faster than during the same period in India.

India's investment has been assisted by foreign aid which, up to August 1962, amounted to more than $ 6.5 billion ; China's investment came almost entirely out of her own current production.

. . . Growing evidence suggests that China is moving ahead far more rapidly than India into economic development . . . Comparisons by individual industries and even by crops are equally impressive."

In a critical survey of India's international manoeuvres an "Indian Express" columnist wrote: "Washington has tried for more than 15 years to form an anti-China bloc in the Afro-Asian region,

but its efforts have not been notably successful. It would be quite childish to imagine that New Delhi can succeed where Washington has failed."

Nehru often conceded that "Chinese strength is its unity. While sectarian interests eat at the roots of our national unity, China has no such problem." China has an inner vitality which the exclusiveness of the Hindu caste system can never acquire.

Tailpiece: In spite of her overwhelming strength India could not awe Pakistan; can she ever hope to score a victory over China?

Our friend, "Commentator", recalls the story of a challenge hurled at the famous Bholu Pehlwan of Pakistan by a foreign wrestler who proposed a combat with him.

Bholu replied: "You must first fight with my younger brothers." Only when he had overcome them, would he be qualified to engage the world champion.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HINDU MIND

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We opened this study with a survey of events that led to Pakistan and genesis of historic Hindu-Muslim differences which degenerated into an open conflict as the British were preparing to quit India. The foreigners need a better appreciation of the circumstances which have placed India and Pakistan in two hostile camps. It seems necessary to conclude this book with a general probe into the working of the Hindu mind and a deeper understanding of the Muslim being. I say so because we have to sift and examine the ingredients of the Hindu mind if we are keen to understand and explain the meaning of this chronic confrontation, bloodshed of partition and antipathies of the independence era which led to a war of extermination in September 1965.

Significantly, a year before partition, a convention of Muslim League legislators in New Delhi sought to redefine the ideological basis of the Pakistan movement by exposing the nature of "Hindu caste system which is a direct negation of nationalism, equality, democracy... Muslims are the adherents of

a faith which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharam philosophy which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system resulting in the creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots, socially and economically." Pandit Sunderlal, who was popularly known as the Congress saint of United Provinces, thought that Pakistan was only one of the 'byproducts of the protean spirit of caste'.

At a session of the All-India Muslim League in 1925, Sir Abdur Rahim lamented: "Any of us Indian Mussalmans travelling, for instance, in Afghanistan, Persia, Central Asia, among Chinese Muslims, Arabs, Turks ... would at once be made at home and would not find anything ... to which we were not accustomed. On the contrary, in India ... we find ourselves in all social matters total aliens when we cross the street and enter that part of town where our fellow Hindu townsmen live ...".

In other words, if Pakistan was not inevitable, then Pakistan is a standing monument to the failure of Hindus to live at peace with the Muslims. As Sir Percival Griffiths observed : "The real creators of the demand for Pakistan were the (Hindu) Congress High Command. If they had been prepared

to abate their claims to be the sole spokesmen for India and had tried to allay Muslim fears slightly, Pakistan might never have come to birth." It was not Jinnah's obduracy, but Hindu orthodoxy which won Pakistan for the Musilms. The Hindu was so dazed by the prize of power and prospective emergence of a Hindu empire that the Muslims had only to read the countenance and make a choice.

A British Lieut-General who spent many hectic years of service in India found the 'real explanation' in the Hindu religion which, like an iron curtain, "clanks down between Hinduism and all other systems and religions : it excludes all new influences; it shuts off its people from other people and from each other. Caste Hinduism, more than any other iufluence, has brought India to its present pass today, riven her in twain, set man at man".

Hinduism is considered to be a unique thing, but we can only assess its dangers if we can measure its dimensions. Who is a Hindu? What is Hinduism? What forms the quintessence of the system which we often condemn as an anachronism in the modern world ? Is Hinduism a religion in the historical sense or is it merely a collection of customs and conventions, a medley of myths and legends handed down from a distant past ? It is a staggering exercise, a baffling question ; to define Hinduism is like trying to pick up a coin with your eyebrows.

Hinduism is neither ideology nor theology ; it is a thing apart and completely alien to the Christian and Islamic concept of life and religion. Thus, a Muslim has to believe in one God, but a Hindu can believe in one Supreme Being, a hundred omnipotent gods, thousands of sub-gods and a myriad sub-sub-gods of the Hindu pantheon. In fact, he may be an athiest and yet remain a Hindu. He may glorify Brahma, the abstract god ; he may follow personal gods like Shiva and Vishnu ; he may court their female counterparts, Kali and Lakhshmi ; he may be attracted by popular deities like Skanda and Ganesh; or he may be happy with Indra and Varuna who share his mortal weaknesses. He is even free to worship a tree or a mountain, an animal or an idea ; if nothing appeals to him, he may deify his known and unknown ancestors.

According to Mr. Govind Dass, a member of the Benares Hindu University senate and Court Council, you can be a Hindu even if you are not born in a Hindu home ; to be a Hindu, you need not believe in the sacred Vedas or caste distinctions ; in fact, he has tried to strip Hinduism of all the attributes that are normally associated with the life and thinking of a Hindu.

Paradoxically enough, it is this flexibility and indefiniteness which has acted as a challenge to their

socially splintered society and united all the caste Hindus of India. The binding force is not any clear-cut philosophical faith or spiritual anchor sheet but the caste system which is more a mode of life than a way of religion. The fact that this caste-ridden life is being practised religiously shows the strength of its tentacles and not the moral stature of its devotees.

What troubles non-Hindus in India is not what they do not understand about Hinduism but what they do understand. What the Hindu mind reveals has given us enough portents ; what it conceals may be left to psychical research scholars. If the terrain is tortuous and there are too many slopes, depressions and ravines, even the most persevering traveller cannot hope to cover the whole country; thus all one can do is to touch a few top-points to bring out the character and contradictions of the Hindu mind.

The Hindu mind is found to be essentially petty and parochial ; it is rarely open and frank ; it is more elusive than incisive ; it is more intriguing than analytical. The grooves of Hindu mind are ground by centuries of social iniquities ; the contours of Hindu personality are set by traditionalism of an undying kind. The Hindu mind is perhaps one of the most impenetrable objects in the world ; nothing

seems to change or influence it. What Abbe Dubois wrote in the beginning of the nineteenth century is true even today: "I do not believe that the Brahmans of modern times are, in any degree, more learned than their ancestors of the time of Lycurgus and Pythagoras. During this long space of time many barbarous races have emerged from the darkness cf ignorance, have attained the summit of civilization, and have extended their intellectual researches . . . yet all this time the Hindus have been perfectly stationary. We do not find amongst them any trace of mental or moral improvement."

The insular character of the Hindu mind has made it impervious to all pragmatic and progressive ideas. The Hindu mind is the most fertile tract for the cultivation of prejudice. In fact, it is not only foreign to other religious and social systems but alien to its own castes and sub-castes which profess to belong to the same fold. Co-existence, to use a well-worn phrase, is antithetical to the faith on which the common Hindu is fed. The Hindu mind cannot encompass the horizons of humanity; every outsider is an outcaste; every non-Hindu is impure or malich. The morbid fear of pollution, the farce of cleanliness baths and anti-contamination exercises provoke both laughter and pity. Mrs. Pandit, Nehru's sister, recalls an incident when "an African diplomat in the United Nations was touched to the

quick by an Indian diplomat's undisguised reluctance to shake hands with him, leaving him in a doubt whether he was actually warding off some black contagion." According to her, "Another such Indian, in international get-togethers, was reputed to wash his hands every time he was forced to shake hands with diplomats of colour".

It seems that the caste bondage is the inherent malaise which afflicts Hinduism; it is the most vicious social system the world has known. All Hindus are victims of the virus which the founder of caste injected into the body-politic. The old Hindu law-makers split the people into four exclusive castes based on colour and vocation in life. This hierarchy is headed by the Brahman, the earthly god; next come the Kshatriyas or fighting men; the Vaisyas are the tillers of the soil; and the Shudras who constitute the fourth division are menials born to serve the other castes. This classification is further sub-divided into more than 3,000 castes who are torn by taboos though all their members profess to be part of the Hindu fabric.

The untouchables do not even belong to the lowest rung of the ladder; they are outcastes and remain outside the four stereotyped groups; they stand and suffer alone with not even a chance to be 'twice-born' as they are caught in the cyclic chain

of sins and must for ever and ever continue to expiate for their misdeeds in lives lost in the limbo of universe. They are subjected to sub-humanity ; it is a life of utter degradation and unspeakable hardships. Untouchability is more atrocious than Negro sagregation in the United States and more invidious than apartheid in the Union of South Africa.

They cannot use umbrellas, ride horses and sit on carpets; barbers, washermen and teashop bearers refuse to serve them. It is not only 'untouchability' but 'unapproachability' and 'unseeability' which has made these wretches envy the animals fed by superior castes. The story is related of "two Brahman girls playing at the gates of a city who, seeing some chandals, must go at once and decontaminate their eyes. There are Hindus who may not approach a Brahman because the latter must purify himself if they come too close."

According to Hutton, in 1930, "a group of out-castes, Chamars, had the effrontery to dress like Rajputs and to mount a bridegroom of theirs upon a horse." The caste Hindus were furious and imposed upon them eleven prohibitions.

1. Not to wear clothes below their knees.
2. Men and women not to wear gold jewels.
3. Women to carry water only in mud pots, not in copper or brass.

4. Children not to read or make themselves literate.
5. Children only to tend cattle of Mirasdars.
6. Men and women to work as slaves for Mirasdars.
7. Not to cultivate land on lease from Mirasdars.
8. To sell their own land at very cheap rates to Mirasdars, otherwise no water to be given them for irrigation.
9. Men and women to work as coolies for Mirasdars at starvation rates from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m.
10. Not to use Indian music at celebrations.
11. Not to use a horse in marriage processions but to use their house doors as palanquins for these processions, and no vehicle to be used by them for any purpose.

An Indian journal, "Bombay Samachar", reported that "in Kuladi, a village of Calicut, the child of a young woman fell into a well. The woman raised an alarm but none present dared to go down the well. A stranger who was passing by jumped into the well and rescued the child. Later when

the people asked the benefactor who he was, he said he was an untouchable. Thereupon, instead of being thanked, the man was foully abused and assaulted as he had polluted the well." These are not rare cases but common incidents which occur everyday, everywhere, as caste is the ubiquitous feature of Hindu life.

There is no justice but only vengeance; the holy scriptures decree that when a Shudra is guilty of murdering a Brahman, he should be instantaneously done to death and he shall 'take the form of one of those insects which feed on filth'. On the other hand, the crimes of a Brahman are exonerated from punishment; if he kills a Shudra, it is 'no more than killing of a cat, a lizard or a crow' and 'it will suffice if he recites the gayatri (a prayer) a hundred times'.

The most appalling feature of this four-tier social structure is the figure of the Brahman whose ascendency is based on primogenital status. Brahman is the romantic rose in the jungle of Hinduism; all other flowers are subservient to its smell and those who question his caste pre-eminence are thorns that must be ruthlessly weeded out. He is hotheaded, vain and conceited, but his pride does not spring from intellectual or spiritual superiority as it is bestowed on him as a birthright. He is the crown

of creation, symbol of paramount power, image of constant incarnation, the monarch of all that he surveys, the embodiment of inspired wisdom, repository of temporal authority, dispenser of divine justice and self-appointed arbiter of all material and metaphysical disputes.

For centuries the Hindu masses have reeled under the rigid caste laws and sacerdotal sins of the Brahman. He is a moloch whose altar can only be carpeted with the blood and sweat of millions who live and die under his sinister sway. They are condemned to an infernal fate ; they can neither make nor unmake their lives. The Brahman has practised wholesale mind manipulation of all non-Brahmans. According to a Hindu rebel writer, "Brahmanism is the name used by historians to denote the exploiters and their civilisation. It may be defined as a system of socio-religious domination and exploitation of the Hindus based on caste, priestcraft and false philosophy—caste representing the scheme of domination, priestcraft the means of exploitation, and false philosophy a justification of both caste and priestcraft".

Here is the greatest paradox of reform; if untouchability has to go, caste must go and, if caste is abolished, what will happen to Hinduism? Tragically enough, in the strength of the caste system lies

the weakness of Hinduism. Is it possible to remove caste inhibitions and retain Hinduism? In other words, how can we rescue Hinduism—and humanity —from the consequences of caste cleavages? How to reconstruct the Hindu pyramidal temple which, at present, limelights Brahman minority as the apex and the multitude as the base? A Hindu Swami weeps and warns: "Brahman imperialism knows no remorse. It is as cruel as ever. It would see its victims die under its weight rather than relax its deadly grip. All untouchables may renounce Hinduism in a body, Brahmanism would stick to its guns. Hindu society may by hewn away limb by limb, Brahmanism will chuckle behind temple doors. India may live or perish, Brahmanism will pursue its career unaffected."

Will the Hindu spirit ever remain enchained to the four-caste chariot? Will the Brahman never change? Will the millennium remain a dream? All hopes are dashed when we see that the locomotive power of the chariot has not declined since the singing of Vedic hymns; it is still mechanically operating on the four wheels which represent the four castes; it is still being driven by the favourite beasts of burden—the Pariahs, the untouchables, perhaps reverentially called the depressed classes!

The challenge cannot be couched in words. Shall we say that the whole Hindu society has to be

'twice-born'—but not according to the pre-ordained Karma which makes your follies revolve in an infinite circle. The world is waiting for fundamental structural changes in Hindu prison house ; it has to be a new mansion, inhabited by new individuals and ruled by a new order. It has to be a social upheaval, a deluge, a cataclysm . . . Since it is not possible to plan an earthquake, Hindu society may be nearing a nemesis and perhaps inexorably moving towards its doom. The Hindu occultists might like to believe that it will be the final absorption into the supreme spirit, an eternal state of blessedness ! But it may still be a long way off ; what will happen between now and nirvana ?

Should we just wait and watch as the Brahman juggernaut continues to trample millions under its iron pincers ; the lowly castes continue to measure their miseries and pine for a life they have never seen ; the untouchables continue to grovel helplessly in the dust and pay for the sins of their old existence ; and, collectively, the Hindus continue to preach castration of all non-Hindus who come within their ominous ambit.

As part of an international community, they have to be discreet in their pronouncements, but they have never failed to practise vitriol-throwing at the Muslims of India and Pakistan. They are

against us because we sought a homeland in which we could live 'according to our own light and shape our own destiny'. They are against us because we refused to be carried away by the serpentining stream of caste system. They are against us because they know that Islam is a potent force and its ideals of equality, justice and brotherhood stand out in bold relief against the endemic weaknesses of Hindu society.

Referring to Indian Muslims, Gandhi, in one of his pontifical moments, said, "I find no parallel in history for a body of converts and their descendants claiming to be a nation apart from the parent stock." The Mahatma perhaps did not realise what he was conceding; he recognised the yawning gulf between a Muslim and a Hindu. The racial argument is irrelevant; what is more significant is the fact that when a man embraces Islam as a religion and accepts the Muslim way of life, his whole character and personality, outlook and attitude, values and vision are magically transformed. It is a complete break with the past; it is a dynamic change; it is a metamorphosis which can better be experienced than explained. Iqbal is rightly cited as a Muslim "who was a Kashmiri Brahman of the Sapru caste by origin and who has become the greatest exponent of Muslim thought in modern time."

The Muslim rulers adopted the country, maintained an atmosphere of peace and tried to promote amity and friendliness towards the Hindus. They never aimed at cultural conquest ; if they were half as fanatical as the Hindus, there would have been a Muslim majority in Delhi and Agra which were the seat of their government for several centuries. But the Hindu mind was as tainted as ever ; anchored to the caste system, they remained aloof and never came out of their shell. Social relations and cultural contacts, during this period, never got below the surface and, under the British rule, the basic Hindu-Muslim differences became more and more apparent. Partition was an explosion ; it inevitably led to the resurgence of two-nation spirit; both Hindus and Muslims were dramatically swung into their heritage. The Kashmir dispute is only a symbolic manifestation of the differences which are deeply rooted in history and accentuated by the Hindu caste system which has interned India and Pakistan in two ideological camps.

The September War has not only exposed the threat to our existence but written the best chapter on the *raison d'etre* of Pakistan. Above all, it has been a delineator of two national personalities ; the foreigners were given a fair chance to search the cultural baggage of Hindus and Muslims. In the course of an article contributed to "New York

Times", during the conflict, Mr. A. M. Rosenthal wrote, "The monotheistic Pakistani is brought up in a direct one-to-one relationship with God. He prides himself on straight talk, a yes or no, right or wrong." Mr. Robert D. Campbell, an American scholar, believes that Pakistan can always be expected to play "a straightforward, unequivocal role in international affairs—a role directly related to the traits of her political personality. She can be expected to be forthright, not devious, blunt, not suave ; and sincere, not hypocritical. These are the traits that have made Pakistan so popular. . ."

They have also seen the bearing of a Hindu who is congenitally fashioned to shun all strangers ; perhaps he is evasive because he is not sure of anything except the bone-deep hatred he harbours against those who are outside his close caste-knit communion. No wonder, the foreigners have often found a typical Hindu as 'smug, arrogant and hypocritical'.

We have realized how dangerous the convolutions of the Hindu mind can be ; the Hindu political philosophy is as elastic as Hindu gods ; in peace time, the Hindu is a bully and blusterer ; in war he is timid and treacherous ; in victory he is cruel and callous ; in defeat he is like a lamb but lying low all the time.

Can we hope to cultivate friendly, if not fraternal, relations with such a people? Will Hindu India ever shed her bellicosity and follow the paths of peace ? Or, are we fated to live in fear, hate and enmity ? The reader might find a partial reply to these questions in the concluding part of the book.

CONCLUSION

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Not one of our heads of the State or Government, minister or official, parliamentarian or politician has even remotely challenged the territorial integrity of India, but Hindu leaders have openly incited their people and advocated unification of the subcontinent which means political subjugation of Pakistan. Thus, the Kashmir dispute is merely indicative of their irreconcilability to Pakistan. They are still not prepared to believe that Pakistan is a living, viable entity and it is not in their power to efface it. In fact, for them, there is no reason why India's influence 'should not make itself felt by her neighbours'. In other words, they are not only wanting to restore the political frontiers of pre-partition India but aspiring to succeed Great Britain and extend their sphere of influence in the whole of South Asia.

Sevaji dreamt of a Hindu state from Cuttack to Attock; his political heirs are looking beyond the bounds of India and imagining an empire not only from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas but from Suez to Singapore.

Years ago, Lala Hardayal exhorted the Hindus to "conquer Afghanistan and the Frontier and convert all the mountain tribes". Another Hindu leader, Bhai Permanand suggested that "the only right thing is that Afghanistan should be weakened by having it partitioned ... because it was a danger to India". According to an Indian writer, S. R. Patel, "India has vast strategic importance in view of her far-flung position in Asia and the Indian Ocean . . . Therefore, India must control Singapore and Suez, the gateways to India. India's existence and independence stand imperilled if a hostile power occupies these key-places". The reputed Indian author, K. M. Pannikar, is convinced that "unless distant bases like Singapore, Mauritius, Aden and Socotra are firmly held and the naval-air arm is developed in order to afford sufficient protection to these posts, there will be no security or safety for India." Dr. Sampurnanand, Governor of Rajasthan, has laid down that "Afghanistan, Nepal, Pakistan, Bhutan, Tibet, Sinkiang, Burma, Thailand, Combodia, Vietnam, Malaysia and Indonesia are within the 'political frontiers' of India". Mr. Nehru thought that, sooner or later, Ceylon was bound to be a part of India.

Is it not downright lunacy to think of empire-building in the late twentieth century ? It will be

crass folly on their part to sniff at the swing of the pendulum and refuse to recognize the imperatives of the atomic age and their own dangerous limitations. The President of Pakistan was not jesting when he said: "Indian leaders somehow feel that every country from Afghanistan down to Indonesia, where there is a semblance of Indian culture, forms a part of Indian heritage and so it must form a part of Indian political empire." They can fancy a blue dahlia, but the facts are more frightening.

India may or may not succeed in splitting the atom for the manufacture of nuclear weapons but, surely, her leaders are hastening to atomize the country. In the language of physics, India is in the process of, if not on the verge of, exploding. The catalytic agents in India are working round the clock; regional rivalries, linguistic disparities, interstate squabbles and, above all, the caste-eaten social milieu show an unmistakable drift towards self-destruction. Mr. S. K. Chatterji thinks that "India stands the risk of being split up into a number of totalitarian small nationalities". The well-known South Indian leader, C. Rajagopalachari says: "The future is in the hands of the gods but, as far as I can judge, the centrifugal forces will ultimately triumph." An American diplomat put it thus: "India has a fifty-fifty chance of keeping afloat, but fifty-fifty simply isn't good enough."

The Hindu leaders have often sought to project an image of unity which never existed. The British withdrawal ripped up the bosom, stomach and heart of mother India and it was found that she was nothing more than "an accumulation of history, an amorphous mass of culture and thought patterns . . ." The British conquest and consolidation had not evolved but imposed a unity which was as spurious as it was superficial. With the end of alien rule, the differences became more stark and the foibles of India's cultural character were exposed to all discerning observers. To some, it was a discovery that India is a notion, not a nation, an idea, not an entity. In 1888, Sir John Strachey wrote: "There is no and never was an India, no Indian nation, no people of India." In 1883, Sir John R. Seeley described India as "a mere geographical expression like Europe or Africa". According to Toynbee, India is "a society of the same magnitude as our western civilisation . . . a whole world in herself".

It is, however, not commonly realised that India's diversities are far more pronounced as she embraces extremes of religion, customs, traditions and languages. Modern Europe is multilingual but, as Mr. Mumtaz Hasan sums up: "There is a basic racial unity in the continent. Let us add to this the fact that the civilization and culture of Europe as a whole

has a Greco-Roman foundation. There is also a common background of historical experience in the shape of the Roman Empire, the spread of Christianity, the Crusades, the Renaissance and the Reformation. The development of the Fine Arts also has an all-European basis. The Europeans have the same classics, the same Greek and Latin sources of inspiration, the same scientific outlook, the same way of living, and the same approach to the basic problems of life."

In spite of her racial, cultural and religious affinities, Europe is split into more than twenty states; is it not against the course of history that there should be only two independent countries in the Indian subcontinent which is larger than western Europe in size and population? It appears that, ultimately, India will fail to hold her national unity and, like Europe, collapse into political components. After a scholarly study, Mr. Selig S. Harrison sees a bleak future: "The odds are almost wholly against the survival of freedom and that in 'the most dangerous decades' the issue is, in fact, whether any Indian state can survive at all."

An Indian journal has forecast "disintegration of India into twenty or more nations" and advised the Government to "destroy with a heavy hand all separatist movements". A new Ordinance has been

promulgated to award examplary punishment to secessionists. They can curb but not crush freedom movements; as a friend remarked the other day, "in an age of revolution, nobody can put out the light".

A new map of India is being projected by the course of events. The Sikhs are stranded at the crossroads, but all signals clearly point to the goal of an independent Sikh state. A Punjabi Suba has been theoretically conceded but the fact that all the Punjabi Hindus are violently opposed to any concessive gestures to Sikhs is bound to intensify the demand for separation.

India has only a corridor-entry into Assam which seems so isolated and apart from the main states of India. The agitation for secession is bound to fertilise as India has already sown the seed. The numerous non-Hindus of Assam and the people of tribal areas (principally Nagas and Mizos) might coalesce one day and put up a joint front. The stage seems to have been set for the creation of a new independent state on the north-eastern frontiers of India.

In January 1965, the Shastri Government was on the verge of collapse ; the whole of south was on fire ; thousands offered to die in self-immolation rather than submit to 'Hindi imperialism'. The language controversy has been momentarily silenced

but it is bound to erupt because it is the tenderest part of the movement for regional identity. All the southern states believe that the linguistic battle is worth winning, even if it means independence from the north. Madras has shown the strongest fissiparous tendencies and it is considered more than a surmise that the land of Tamils will eventually break away.

The untouchables would have made a determined bid for eking out an independent existence if they had been in a majority in any part of India, but the pity is that they are so servilely submerged with the mainstream of Hinduism.

Is the Indian Leviathan sinking ? I am ready to be ridiculed but I cannot help saying that Pakistan is in a unique position to turn the tide and save India from fragmentation. And, this will be the second time in nineteen years ; there is enough documentary evidence to prove that, but for Pakistan, India would have been divided, in 1947, into more than two states. If there had been no agreement on the partition plan, there would have been a prolonged civil war ; Hyderabad and a few more princely principalities would have battled to retain their independence ; Assam would have fallen into the lap of East Pakistan ; the south would probably have liked to secede and the Sikhs would certainly

have established a state of their own. We can never expect them to be grateful to Pakistan for clearing the decks and acting as a midwife for the birth of a country which is often described as a continent. Perhaps, they should thank the end of British rule for ensuring their hegemony over India. Is it not a fact that, during the heyday of Hinduism, large parts of the country always remained beyond the pale of fiscal and administrative control of the centre? Could they ever dream of usurping a country of India's size, population and resources?

At a time when division of the country seemed inevitable, Jinnah told the jeering Hindus that however disparagingly they might look at the emergence of Pakistan, but a day will come when "you will bless the memory of my name." It was not a self-righteous stance in a moment of triumph but an expression of Jinnah's sincere belief in the potential good of the partition act. In other words, Jinnah was not only convinced of the justness of the cause he was espousing but he honestly thought that political separation was in the larger interests of Hindus. "Islam, Britain, the world, owe him (Jinnah) their gratitude for saving what was left of Islamic culture in India; indeed, perhaps *he saved India itself,*" concluded Sir Francis Tuker in his book "While Memory Serves", published in 1950.

Today, in 1966, India has another fighting chance to avoid Balkanisation and survive as a single state if she settles the Kashmir dispute, reconciles with Pakistan, signs a no-war pact, cuts down her military expenditure to one-fourth and let her people progress in peace. I say so because the surest guarantee of India's territorial integrity is a happy and contented people; a flourishing economy will assure her of security which a nuclear umbrella can never provide. India should mobilise her resources for solving her internal problems because her best defence lies "in the eager sacrifices she can command from her people and not in military postures that cannot intimidate a determined antagonist and will only drain all capacity for progress." Warning her present rulers, a British paper wrote: "India's defence preparations may cripple her beyond the point of endurance and may well throw her at the mercy of foreign military aid to such a degree that her independence may be in jeopardy."

But, India has shown no sense of urgency because she has neglected her premier industry—agriculture. She has shown no sense of proportion because she has boosted her defence production at the expense of industrial output. For Indian leaders, it has not even been a case of enlightened self-interest; they are so deeply stung by the desire to browbeat Pakistan that they have been rearing a

flock of famished millions to keep their economy on a perpetual warfooting. They are maintaining an arsenal of hate as they perhaps believe that hate makes a man stronger than love; it is a fantastic project because its establishment is costing crores to the Indian tax-payer. It has been such a consuming hatred that, mentally, India has already thrown an atom bomb on Pakistan, and the effects of its fall-out are being nervously felt by the people of both countries.

Thanks to India's intransigent hostility, the euphoric climate produced by the Tashkent Declaration did not last more than dawn. The tragedy is that they never come to an anchor ; every offer is repudiated ; every statement is denied ; every pledge is dishonoured. We suddenly find that we are not even at the starting point, because 'the situation has changed' and we must fix new premises for discussion. Even when they agree to procedural mechanics, the commitments degenerate into a search for tangible threads in this self-woven web. We are again caught in the labyrinthine teeth of an amphibian and, even if we find our way through the maze, we should be ready to encounter a new cycle of births.

The trouble is that every time India makes a commitment, the words get shrivelled in the process

of interpretation. In one of her recent homilies, Mrs. Indra Gandhi advised her fans not to become 'prisoners of words' and yet she initiated a war of words when she said that if there ever was any 'academic or marginal' justification for plebiscite in Kashmir, it has been negatived by the compulsion of new circumstances. Paraphrased into simple language, the utterances of her official spokesmen seem to suggest that plebiscite was an offer, not a commitment; it was a recommendation, not a decision; it was a proposal, not a pledge. It is the chronic way of circuitus verborum which can enrich a debate but never ensure a decision which is binding on both parties.

Accumulation of words do not decide an issue but demand action; there are several thousand words, solemnly spoken and neatly printed in Indian and world newspapers, which barricade all approaches to escape-alleys improvised by Indians. India cannot run away from the bar of public opinion and world conscience; in the words of Mr. Bhutto, "The Kashmir issue cannot be buried under any amount of debris. In fact this subcontinent does not have enough debris to bury it." And, no amount of plaster or chalk can distemper the house in which Indian rulers have been living all these years. They think that India is winner because Kashmir is still with her. But the world thinks that Kashmir is still

a festering sore, a powder keg, a growing cancer. The first explosion of this bomb in August 1965 shook the world, but its atomic potential is still there because the smouldering fuse of Kashmir has still to be disembowelled. How long can Pakistan continue to wear the millstone of Tashkent memorandum round her neck ; she has to take the next step after we and its sponsors are satisfied that the pact has been finally repudiated by India.

The 'next step' could mean anything? President Ayub was not speaking euphemistically when he said that 'rivers of blood' would flow . . . if India does not come to terms with Pakistan and strives to solve the 'political problem underlying the present conflict' as the Security Council resolution termed it. The Kashmir dispute is not indeterminable if there is genuine 'flexibility, pliability and accommodation' in India and her policy makers realise that perpetual enmity with Pakistan can never be rewarding. It is an act of faith which alone is capable of 'uplifting the minds and moving the hearts of men' and achieve 'miracles that no act of statesmanship can encompass'. But, alas, we have been hoping against hope; it is often a new posture but the old attitude; it is a change of strategy, not change of heart; occasionally it looks like a fresh approach but it always has the same stench of evil intentions. They must know that

convictions cannot be carved out of expediency and there is a limit to diplomatic manoeuvrability.

There is such a grave gap between India's promises and performance that her leaders seem to be afflicted with schizophrenia . . . Pathologically speaking, it is a case of morbid behaviour fit for clinical examination. All prescriptions are rejected because the patient is allergic to anatomy and refuses to listen and look at the writing on the wall. Will anything work? There is no talismanic formula, but time is a relentless teacher. How long can Indian rulers sit back with cotton lump stuffed in their ears? They shall have to accept the verdict of the people tomorrow, even if the court has adjourned today. But can they really afford the luxury of getting wiser after the event? There is enough fire to make the Kashmir cauldron boil over again. They shall have to pay an exorbitant interest on this deferred political payment.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Let the World Judge

In the course of debate on Kashmir at the U. N. General Assembly Session, in September 1965, Mr. Arthur Goldberg, United States' Permanent Representative, said: "It is a simple fact of history and a simple fact of life that the differences which gave rise to the recent conflict are deeply rooted. The cease-fire, as the Security Council Resolution expressly stated, is only the first step; next comes the more difficult task of finding solutions to the underlying sources of conflict and arriving at an honourable settlement and condition for lasting peace in the subcontinent."

Here are a few of the numerous comments on India's suicidal Kashmir policy, which have appeared in newspapers throughout the world. But even this fraction of world opinion on Kashmir not only exposes India and proves the justness of Pakistan's case but serves to limelight a dispute which has already led to an armed conflict and is potentially capable of leading to another war far more serious than we are prone to imagine or believe at present.

Let the World Judge

The Truth

"The meaning of self-determination is quite clear. It is not playing with the idea of self-determination when we talk of Kashmir any more than we play with the idea when we speak of self-determination of Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia and South-East Africa. Yet, certain quarters suggest that right to self-determination is something that the countries of Africa and Asia ought to fear."

"The West African Pilot," Lagos (Nigeria)
(August, 1965)

Massive uprising

"How could so many people cross the Cease-fire Line undetected and begin operating, apparently within a day or two, as much as 88 miles inside Indian held Kashmir as the Indian reports suggest? . . . Infiltrators must have enjoyed the sympathy of at least a section of the local population (as they) are still giving Indian security forces an uneasy time. If Indian casualty figures are accepted, it is surprising that so much resistance continues unless there really has been a massive uprising."

"The Sunday Times" (London)
(August, 1965)

Without Right

"What is important is that for the last 18 years, India has been in occupation of Kashmir Valley without any right, and has been throwing into prison those who wanted independence . . . .

Since India has been ignoring the resolutions of the Security Council, she has been losing her prestige day by day in the eyes of the world . . . . Indian authorities seem to find it easy not to give these rich territories to whom they belong rightfully. But they are not able to persuade the people to slaughter sacred cows whose number exceeds the population, although the country is suffering from hunger and poverty."

"Yeni Tanin," Ankara
(August, 1965)

Vote For Pakistan

"It would be unfair to Pakistan to ignore the years of political provocation that have led up to this : India's persistent refusal to contemplate for Kashmir any future other than as an integral part of India, although the large majority of its inhabitants are Muslims who, if consulted, would certainly show preference for independence or for union with Pakistan."

"The Glasgow Herald,"
(August, 1965)

Be Reasonable

"The Kashmir dispute drags on year after year, and it is hard not to sympathise with Pakistan's impatience because a United Nations supervised plebiscite was supposed to have settled the future of Kashmir long before this. . . . With all other menacing situation in South-East Asia, we can only hope that India will be reasonable about Kashmir."

"The Philadelphia Inquirer"
(August, 1965)

Settle It

"At a glance, it is hard for the people of Kashmir to face the Indian Army whose strength is more than ten times their

own, but, as a Pakistani newspaper clarified, the Algerians, whose armaments were poor if compared with the very well-armed French Army, have ultimately emerged as the winner in the armed conflict . . . . History has proved many times that most of the international questions could not be solved just at the conference table, but must be settled through the so-called 'negotiations with strength' as well."

"The Indonesian Herald," Djakarta
(August, 1965)

Difficult Days

"Pakistan's attitude is not chiefly responsible for India's use of arms for attack. Ever since Premier Shastri has come to power, he has not been able to strengthen his position in public eye. Indian internal politics is passing through utmost difficult days. At such time helplessness in Kashmir problem could have meant an end of Mr. Shastri's political life. It is possible that by pushing troops across the Pakistan territory, Mr. Shastri wants on the one hand to prove those wrong who accuse him of being soft and on the other to divert attention outwards."

"Yeni Gazette," Ankara
(August, 1965)

War and Peace

"The people of Kashmir are overwhelmingly Muslims and as Muslims they would rather die or be destroyed than to be ruled by an illegitimate ruler who worships different gods, who is different from them in every way and who commits every heinous crime. . . . Yet India, which claims to reform the world and which is professing the creed of peace, would wish to forcibly put

these people under its domination. . . What a vain hypocritic world we are destined to live in."

"Weekly El-Massa," Amman, (Jordon)
(September, 1965)

Kashmir Revolt

"The sense of reason which Pakistan had shown in her readiness to an agreement on Kutch proves that she has no hand in the recent Kashmir revolt. There was no need for Pakistan to withdraw from Kutch merely to launch a fresh attack in Kashmir. The great chance which Pakistan had was at the time when there was Sino-Indian clash . . . . India seems apprehensive that if Kashmir gets its independence through self-determination then India's hold on Sikkim and Bhutan will be automatically lost!"

"Naya Samaj," Kathmandu
(September, 1965)

Who cares ?

"Most of India's 480 millions do not give a hoot about Kashmir. What are the 2.5 million Kashmiris to the country that gains as many new babies every 75 days ? What is the strip of mountain-locked land only 26 by 60 miles in a subcontinent as vast as India ? . . . Kashmir that India's politicians talk about is essentially a football in Delhi's power struggle and symbol of India's frustration and resentment that the subcontinent was ever divided in the first place . . . . What Indian peasant cares about is not Kashmir but getting enough to eat and better, more decent, life for his children. He may respond to whipping up of war hysteria from Delhi, especially if the struggle is phrased along religious lines."

"The Evening Star," Washington
(September, 1965)

Self-Determination

"We do not blame Pakistan when she acts according to the language understood by India. The only way to solve this problem is that India must bow and accept the right of self-determination. Then the question of withdrawing the Pakistan Army from Kashmir could be considered."

"Al-Misa," Khartoum (Sudan)
(September, 1965)

Complete Isolation

"In the past Russian sympathy for Indian argument over Kashmir snuffed out United Nations moves with a veto. Another veto seems unlikely. India looks like isolating herself even more."

"The Daily Mirror," London
(September, 1965)

Heart of Conflict

"Indian attitude has always been tortuous, intriguing and contrary to political and moral principles so highly proclaimed and some time so severely taught by her leaders . . . .The heart of conflict is not Kashmir, it is Pakistan. India never ceased to consider Pakistan more than a temporary structure built up by the ambition of a few men."

"The Weekly Paris-Match"
(September, 1965)

Face Facts

"India shares a heavy responsibility for the Kashmir tragedy. Her obdurate clinging to an unstable *status quo*—years after the late Pandit Nehru had himself begun to doubt the wisdom of doing so—runs counter to her true interests. Common sense

dictates that the only way out of this impasse is to start from the principle that Kashmir's future status must be negotiated so as to satisfy the proper interests of all the three parties—India, Pakistan and the people of Kashmir."

"The Observer," London
(August, 1965)

Compromise Search

"The hope that if lesser issues were first resolved India and Pakistan might eventually find a solution to the Kashmir dispute has been well and truly exploded. However bleak the prospects of success over Kashmir, the search for an acceptable compromise must continue. There is no other way of ensuring political stability and economic progress in the subcontinent."

"The Financial Times," London
(September, 1965)

Warn Her

"India clings to her position only by arms. It is time that she was given a warning. She looks to the West for aid. She looks, in particular, to Britain and America for protection against China. She must be told that she can expect no favours whatsoever while she indulges in cruel aggression against Britain's loyal ally—Pakistan."

"The Daily Express," London
(August, 1965)

Indian Dishonesty

"If Shastri really means that Kashmir is judicially, and in fact, a part of India, there would be no point in discussing Kashmir. Pakistan may seize upon his obvious inconsistency as another instance of Indian dishonesty."

"The Economist," London
(September, 1965)

Solemn Pledges

"If India from the beginning was ready to fulfil her pledge on Kashmir, we dare say openly that the long dispute would not have arisen and the war would not have taken place today between both countries over Kashmir."

"Utusan Melayu," Kuala Lumpur
(September, 1965)

World Peace

"Kashmir cannot remain as it was, for that is what led to war : the search for a solution must therefore start with the recognition that India cannot maintain her claim to total and unconditional sovereignty . . . Swiftly to repair the damage and heal the bitterness must now be a primary Western aim. Yet it would be short-sighted to pursue it by declining to face the Kashmir issue squarely because of the manifest difficulties of a solution. It must be faced and solved, not only for the sake of peace between India and Pakistan, but in the interest of world peace."

"The Daily Telegraph," London
(September, 1965)

Usurped Land

"The right of self-determination is not subject to the passage of time. The right of people to restore their usurped land cannot be subject to any influence involving usual transaction and private dealings. They are sacred rights and are ever present . . . If the theory of the passage of time is to be applied to the right of people, then India itself would not have been enjoying sovereignty over its soil ; India would have been still subject to the British Crown. Time passes but rights remain and, God willing, Kashmir and Palestine shall return to their peoples."

"Beirut-al-Massa," (Lebanon)
(September, 1965)

Policy of Violence

"The gravest and most dangerous was the demand (in the Indian Parliament) to produce nuclear weapons. This attitude clearly shows that India has changed its policy from that of non-violence to a policy of violence. India's crossing of the cease-fire line and invasion of the Pakistan territory was a definite proof of this new policy of violence. India's invasion of Pakistan deprived her of world's sympathy and the more India goes on the path of this new policy it would lose its prestige abroad. Even if it thinks that by this policy it would regain her position in Asia, this would certainly lead it to lose previous reputation as a peace-loving country."

"Al-Ahram," Cairo
(September, 1965)

Lost a Chance

"One might have expected, at least after the Chinese attack on India's northern territories three years ago, that in New Delhi there would have been a growing inclination to come to an arrangement with the Pakistanis—especially as President Ayub Khan of Pakistan, with honourable restraint, refrained from taking advantage of India's weakness at that time. . . Yet neither Nehru nor his successor, Mr. Shastri, showed any appreciation of this by taking up a more conciliatory attitude on the Kashmir question."

"Frankfurter Allegmeine Zeitung," (West Germany)
(September, 1965)

Lamentable Decline

"What a lamentable decline it marks in the reputation of India. Down first from the Great Gandhi to Nehru, who preached us all sermons on how to behave but refused to allow

the plebiscite in Kashmir, which the United Nations demanded . . . Finally right down to the mini-man Shastri, who formally annexed Kashmir and boasted of being a man of peace."

"The Sunday Mirror," London
(October, 1965)

A Closed Question ?

"Kashmir is not a closed question in the eyes of the Commonwealth nor indeed in the eyes of the United Nations, however unpalatable this fact may be to India . . . How the dispute should be settled may still be open to argument although it should not be forgotten that both parties accepted the U.N. proposal for plebiscite—but there can be no pretending that the dispute no longer exists. Or, President Radhakrishnan's appeal for 'brotherhood' is not meaningful so long as he accompanies it with a refusal to budge on Kashmir."

"The Morning Herald," Sydney
(October, 1965)

New Excuses

"What are the Indian leaders seeking ? In exploiting to the hilt the myth of 'Chinese danger" in introducing the U.S.A. in the conflict, they would like to prevent, for a long time still, any settlement of the Kashmir problem."

"The Weekly Jeune Afrique," Tunis
(October, 1965)

Root Cause

"No doubt, India and Pakistan can be better friends than China and Pakistan for reasons of past history, culture, language and geography. But we are convinced that the Indian leadership has not proved farsighted enough to realise the

wisdom of winning Pakistan's friendship, as is evident from its adamantly refusing all along these years to settle with Pakistan the Kashmir dispute, which is the root cause of the conflict between these two countries."

"The News," Ankara
(October, 1965)

Use of Force

"When India appropriated Goa by military invasion, it disheartened and dismayed many who had looked to India for a special brand of moral leadership. Now it comes as a new shock to see India walk out from the Security Council to which, only a few weeks before, it had appealed for relief against China's threats and alleged Pakistani aggression. . . . For a nation which has so long high-mindedly preached adherence to the Charter and, in cold war disputes, so often insisted upon procedures of peaceful settlement, this walk-out from the Security Council crudely examplifies the process of double standard. . . . . By bolting from the Security Council, India invites the verdict that it is primarily responsible for preventing any further progress toward peace. It is a strange and melancholy role for a nation which professes to be guided by the doctrines of Gandhi—one of mankind's greatest moral seers."

"The New York Post," New York
(October, 1965)

Naked Aggression

"India's ruling regime is nothing if not consistent. It can always be found on the side of aggression—especially its own! While hypocrisy is not an international commodity in short supply—it must be conceded that India's ruling circles, with their recent attack on Pakistan, have added a new dimension to the word . . . . . These acts of naked aggression were all described by Shastri as measures of 'defence' . . . . . At their convenience,

the world's most renowned and pious lecturers of 'non-violence' became the bloody practitioners of pre-emptive war !"

"The Challenge," New York
(October, 1965)

Big Power Dream

"India, beyond innocent veil of non-violence, has never lost a chance to reaffirm, even by the use of force, her aspiration to play the role of a big power."

"Folla," Rome
(October, 1965)

The Only Way

"The point of view accepted by the U.N. for many years consists in a reference to the popular will for the purpose of eliminating the friction between the countries with such bad ethnic distribution. This solution alone tends to indicate most amicable understanding . . .

"We repeat that in this case all sympathies should be on the side of Rawalpindi, as the foreign policy of the political heirs of Gandhi has not been precisely neutral. In fact, it has been the most unpardonable aggression, as in the case of Goa, where Nehru declined to accept the popular verdict because he knew before hand that a vast majority of the Goans preferred to remain Portuguese subjects. Now, invasion of Pakistan has proved once again that democracy and pacifism preached by Gandhi's heirs is nothing more than a fallacy . . . . Taking advantage of the Chinese bogey, Shastri refuses to negotiate on the future of Kashmir, which he considers an integral part of India. This is an open challenge to the United Nations, where as a result of their own recommendations the idea prevails that only a plebiscite held with sufficient guarantees will determine

who has the right to Kashmir. There is no other possible solution."

"Madrid," Spain
(October, 1965)

No Justification

"India has repeatedly declared at the United Nations her full support for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of all peoples, but she did not fulfil her own commitment for holding a fair plebiscite in Kashmir . . . . It is really a matter of surprise that the Indian Government, who fights imperialism, has put on a cloak of liberation under which it conceals a dagger of colonialism . . . . India, considering herself more powerful, larger in population and mightier in resources, believes that she has the right to launch aggression against Pakistan, which cannot be justified from any angle."

"The Muslim World League" (Monthly), Mecca
(November, 1965)

Political Problem

"India's population is four times more than Pakistan's, but during the last war, Pakistan was the nation which really achieved triumph by withstanding against a nation surpassing it in human energy and material . . . . It is worth noting that Pakistan agreed to the cease-fire only when the Security Council promised the act for finding a solution to the political problem lying behind the present conflict."

"Al-Siyas," Kuwait
(December, 1965)

Smouldering Fuse

"It is not a secret that it is the Kashmir problem that has been the main difficulty in the development of good-neighbourly relations for many years. This difficult problem, which India

and Pakistan inherited from their colonial past, is in fact a smouldering fuse on the Indo-Pak subcontinent."

"Soviet Press Agency," (APN)
(December, 1965)

No Claim

"What is the point of having discussions aimed at an amicable settlement, if the main grievance cannot even be mentioned? . . . Of course, the reason why Mr. Shastri shies away is plain. India has not a claim to Kashmir. She holds it down with bayonets in defiance of world opinion . . . . . . She cannot make out a case for clinging to Kashmir, therefore, she will not discuss the matter."

"The Daily Express," London
(November, 1965)

Top of Volcano

"India's unprecedented behaviour at the U. N. Security Council when her Foreign Minister walked out in protest against Kashmir being discussed, throws a sad but not unexpected light on her professed love for a peaceful settlement. For years India has impressed the world with her exhortations to all member countries to settle disputes by negotiations. So successful was she in performing her self-appointed mission that one forgot that she herself had refused to solve the Kashmir problem . . . . . But at least she has turned up at conference table. Now, after having already thrown to the winds her robe of peaceful resistance, she follows the disreputable steps of South Africa by refusing to talk about what she calls an 'internal affair' . . . . That the Kashmir situation was not artificially created by 'Pakistani infiltrators' but arises from the genuine grievances of the Kashmiris themselves can by seen by the latest police measures there. Almost all known Kashmiri patriots and hundreds of

students have been detained without trial (also following the South African) example . . . . . It is now obvious that India has always succeeded in doping the world with her own self-righteous pretentions while she herself felt free to act otherwise . . . International opinion will have to force India to give the Kashmiris a fair deal, but she will also have to give her own starving people a better chance. . . . Eventually India must find a *modus vivendi* with her Pakistani and Chinese neighbours, not only because she cannot for ever remain on the top of a volcano, but also because she cannot afford to exhaust her resources and foreign aid on constant war preparations."

"The Eastern World," London
(December, 1965)

New Dangers

"Perhaps the most tragic aspect of the Indo-Pakistani conflict is the virtual isolation in which a great country like India has found itself with regard to Afro-Asian world. A pioneer country—would it become a phantom country ? Not a single voice has been raised in the capitals of neutralism and non-alignment in support of India's stand. . . . . On the contrary, from Casablanca to Ankara, to Djakarta via Tehrean, two continents appear to be unanimous in considering that the people of Kashmir must also be allowed to exercise their right of self-determination. In its crisis with Pakistan, India's standing is seen to be frittering away . . . . Rawalpindi desires to reopen Kashmir case after having patiently waited for 18 years for India to comply with the United Nations Resolutions and to honour formal assurances given by Nehru. This desire is legitimate and understandable. But by extending the conflict hitherto limited to this province, by crossing Pakistan frontier, the Indian Government has assumed a responsibility that weighs heavily on the fate of world peace . . . . . It

is not surprising to us that in these conditions India finds itself today more isolated. And, if her closest friends, like Yugoslavia and UAR, have refused to support her policies (an article written in "Borba" of September 19 by Deputy Mladen Ivekovic contains criticism scarcely converged on Indian policy), it is because it has entered a system of alliances whose dangers have always been proclaimed by countries of the world."

"The Daily Sketch", Lagos
(October, 1965)

Liberation aim

"With the Kashmir people proving conclusively that they stand for and wish to join Pakistan, the Indians should see the writing on the wall and should realise that the security of the region cannot be ensured unless India rid herself of the politicians' bigotry and of the domination of the Hindu fanatics . . . . Even war has not convinced the Indians of the sin of their aggression in Kashmir . . . . Whatever the political circumstances and whatever the obstacles that may be in the way of Pakistan's demand, the determination of the Kashmiri people to wrest their freedom from the Indians remains to be the greatest assurance to the Pakistan Government . . . . We do not advance this view to defend Pakistan's right to Kashmir, but we do so in defence of peace in the region and the world. This is necessary for India as well as for Pakistan. Indeed, India is even in a greater need of such peace to mobilise its resources to raise the standard of living of its citizens and to be free from the ills of hunger, poverty, ignorance and backwardness. Peace in that part of the world is essential for the tranquillity in the whole world . . . . Pakistan has put up a bitter fight and its firm and solid stand against the Indian ambition remains the only assurance for the Kashmiri people, who in turn have proved to be wide awake to their

rights and are prepared to face all eventualities in their struggle for liberation. Theirs is the avowed aim to join the mother country—Pakistan."

"Saut-el-Urooba", Beirut
(November, 1965)

Promises Broken

"The promise (that the final destiny of the State would be decided by popular vote) was frequently repeated in the following years in unequivocal terms by the Indian leaders. Despite repeated negotiations, either bilateral or by the intervention of the United Nations, this promise was never carried out. The reason given by India, that Pakistan did not fulfil the preliminary conditions for the organisation of a plebiscite—the retreat of all the Pakistan troops in Kashmir by Pakistan—is a poor excuse. . . . But it is not the first time that promises have been made, then broken, and political griefs finally forgotten. Why then has this survived so long and with such virulence ? . . . . Here, there is one aspect that has passed in silence : The people of Kashmir. There have been three elections in Indian-held Kashmir. So far as the Kashmir Valley is concerned, they have all been rigged : political liberty has never existed."

"Le Monde Diplomatique," Paris
(October, 1965)

Remove Tension

"India's Premier Shastri has expressed a totally uncompromising stand on the Kashmir issue . . . . He has said in effect that while he is willing to meet President Ayub to discuss relations between the two countries, India's control over the disputed territory of Kashmir could never be a subject for compromise. In view of this rigid attitude it is difficult to see how the present

cease-fire can develop into a more permanent solution of the Kashmir dispute which is of course the overriding cause of tension between the two countries."

"The Irish Independent",
(November, 1965)

For Freedom

"There is mounting evidence that India, under Prime Minister Shastri, is resorting to the harshest measures to repress all pro-plebiscite elements in predominantly Muslim Kashmir. The measures have created tensions that constitute a clear threat to the fragile cease-fire existing there . . . . The Indian authorities, reflecting New Delhi's view that Kashmir is an integral part of their country, feel that they are justified in what they have been doing through political decrees, police action and military force to destroy the self-determination movement. Students and others, demonstrating in favour of a plebiscite, have been dealt with very roughly. Some have been shot dead, some—numbering the hundred—have been thrown into prisons. Srinagar, Kashmir's summer capital and most important city, has become a place where suppression is suffocating smog in the air . . . . Mr. Shastri and his colleagues in New Delhi may sincerely believe that all this is essential to Hindu India's well-being. But the Muslim Kashmiris—fervently supported by Pakistan's Muslims—feel that they have a right to determine for themselves, through a free and unfettered vote, whether to be independent or to be part of Pakistan or India. An idea of this kind cannot for ever be held down. Sooner or later—and the sooner the better—the Indians will have to realise this reality. Otherwise, the tragedy-ridden Asian sub continent may suffer yet another disaster. Together with President Ayub of Pakistan, Mr. Shastri should

spare no effort to arrive at a statesman-like solution of the situation."

"The Washington Star," Washington
(October, 1965)

Ideal opportunity

"As long as there has been no plebiscite in Kashmir, tension between India and Pakistan is bound to continue in some form or another".

Referring to Mrs. Gandhi's foresight to settle the Kashmir question the Paper observed : "But whether Mrs. Gandhi will have the courage to reshape India's foreign policy towards her neighbours in the face of the pent-up irrationalism of the people and the narrow-minded orthodoxy of those who sponsored her election, remains to be seen. With Pakistan it may look easier after Tashkent, but without redeeming her father's original pledges over Kashmir, she will be unable to achieve lasting harmonious relations with that neighbour."

Writing under the heading 'After Tashkent' the Paper continued: "If Mrs. Gahdhi is unable or unwilling to do this, demands on India's resources for defence preparations will cripple her beyond the point of endurance and may well throw her at the mercy of foreign military aid to such a degree that her independence will be in jeopardy.

"She will have to curb the megalomaniac ambitions of India's military planners who, despite the country's catastrophic economic position and its famine-stricken population, are now spending over £3 million per day on the building up of a gigantic military force.

"Mrs. Gandhi has been given a great opportunity after Tashkent. It will be to her's and India's credit if she takes it."

"Eastern World of London"
(April, 1966)

In Whose Favour ?

"Maulana Masoodi has in the past been considered a moderate, but in a recent interview with me both he and Mr. Mohiuddin Karra presented a case over Kashmir very similar to Pakistan's. They said guerilla operations were going to grow and clearly favoured them."

"They accused the Indian forces of committing rape, arson and other atrocities."

"The position in Srinagar is quite changed now. The attitude of the local population appears to be in favour of Pakistan. The demonstrators were carrying black flags—a show which reminded the 1963 agitation when the holy hair was lost."

B.B.C., London
(October, 1965)

Resolve the Issue

"Though the United States cannot sit in judgement but I feel we have to make sure that within the near future Kashmir issue is resolved."

"We in the United States know that the people of Pakistan feel very sincerely that the U.N. resolutions be carried out and there should be a plebiscite in Kashmir."

"We feel that India and Pakistan as sovereign nations mus t resolve this dispute for themselves but I think you will visualise that the United States ascribed to the U.N. resolution of 1949

and we have never changed our position since that time. I think the statement made by our U.N. representative, Mr. Goldburg, has made this very clear."

U.S. Congressman, Mr. John Tunney,
Interview with Radio Pakistan,
(November, 1965)

People's Verdict

"In the last few days, the Indian Government has been deploying its troops in a number of places in Kashmir and has been engaged in a massive military build-up in the Rajasthan sector of the Indo-Pakistan border. Both Indian Prime Minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri, and Defence Minister Y. B. Chavan declared that they wanted "to drive Pakistan out of these places" and "to take back" the Indian "territory". It thus appears that the Indian expansionists are again preparing pretexts for renewing the armed conflict.

"In regard to the Kashmir issue, the main problem is whether the right of the people of Kashmir to self-determination should be respected or whether the Indian expansionists should be allowed to annex Kashmir by illegal means.

"People's Daily," Peking
(November, 1965)

U. N. Responsibility

"Any attempt at sidetracking the issue would only endanger peace and undermine authority of the world body."

"It is a dispute involving peace and war and United Nations will have to find a proper solution for it without care whether its judgment does offend any party. Only this way the United Nations could redeem its solemn pledges for a peaceful and prosperous world society."

"The real issue was being sidetracked in a battle of giants over powers and authority of the Secretary-General."

"It is the responsibility of each and every nation committed to the Charter of the United Nations."

"Any attempt at sidetracking the issue by rivalry among the nations will only endanger peace and will give way to new alignment of forces that could lead to undermining the authority of the world body. It would, therefore, not be unwise to suggest that Kashmir dispute, or any international dispute on that account which is referred to the world body, has and needs a solution. But lack of decisiveness to establish the very fact whether or not it is a dispute is never a healthy sign."

"It is a dispute involving peace and war, and the United Nations will have to find a proper solution to it."

"Nepalese Prospective"
(Weekly), Kathmandu
(November, 1965)

APPENDIX II

Vultures in Valley

Referring to the Kashmir sale deed in 1845, Lord Lawrence termed it as "a very questionable stroke of policy which has brought woes innumerable on Kashmir ever since." He called it "the iniquitous arrangement by which Kashmir and its ill-fated inhabitants were to be transferred without their consent as though they were so many logs of wood to Gulab Singh, a Dogra Rajput, who has nothing common with them".

The second round started when India became independent and annexed Kashmir. India's ingenious propaganda machine has failed to shroud the suffering soul of Kashmiri people; it is a tale of terror and tyranny, a cold-blooded campaign of genocide. Here is an eye-witness and periscopic report of atrocities in India-held Kashmir during the war with Pakistan and since cease-fire. What must not be forgotten is that all this happened in a month's time. Who can recount the crimes since 1947 ? And what can happen tomorrow and day-after ?

Vultures in Valley

FIRE, MORE FIRE

The entire Batamalu area, near Srinager, was set ablaze on August 14, 1965 on the eve of India's Independence Day, in which many Muslim children, women and men were roasted alive and no less than 439 houses and three mosques were reduced to cinders.

According to an eye-witness account, after letting out Hindus the entire Batamalu area was sealed off by the armed Indian troops and set on fire. This was done—in spite of the fact that Mr. G. M. Sadiq, the so-called Chief Minister of Occupied Kashmir had his own property in Batamalu area—in order to take revenge upon the people for allegedly harbouring infiltrations.

The Indian Army had sprinkled petrol through hoses and pipes on the entire Batamalu area and then set it on fire. This was believed to be the worst case of arson and incendiarism in the history of the town.

The Indian Army, he said, did not allow the fire brigade to extinguish the fire and those who tried to save themselves from the raging flames or to salvage their belongings were shot at by the Indian troops. The civilians who were injured by this firing included a Sikh and some other non-Muslims.

In some cases fleeing victims were pushed back to be roasted alive.

The Indian Army planned the burning of Batamula well in advance. In the morning on August 14, they ordered the evacuation of the population. Later in the afternoon the Army placed

fire bombs on the roofs of the houses and pumped petrol, while the people were still inside.

The height of cruelty was that the army did not allow the people to leave the area despite earlier orders to evacuate the premises. Those who fled were fired at and many killed. No one was allowed from outside to go to the rescue of the people who were encircled and burnt alive.

It may be added that India had alleged that Mujahideen put the area on fire. But the foreign correspondents in Srinagar confirmed that it was the work of the Indian Army.

The people affected by this cruelty had also been demanding that the International Red Cross should send a team to see for itself the inhuman actions of the Indian occupation army.

The Indian Army resorted to firing in Judge Bagh, Berood, Diyarwun, in the outskirts of Srinagar. The aim was to kill as many Muslims as possible.

The Chattabal and Putwara areas were also got evacuated by the Army, on August 15, under the order of the Srinagar Brigadier, who earlier visited these places.

WOMEN MOLESTED

A virtual state of Martial Law existed in Srinagar on August 31 where Indian forces had set up pickets at every road junction and roads leading out of the city.

All outgoing and incoming persons were searched in a humiliating manner and often tortured. Women were forced to lift their veils. This was followed by repeated cases of molestation. Beards of Sikhs and Muslims were pulled on the pretext of verifying whether they were not fake.

Road blocks had been put and trenches dug in many places in Srinagar, particularly around the Muslim populated areas.

In a mad bitterness, the Indian army personnel burnt the house of Mr. Ghulam Shah, Deputy Secretary of the Law Department. Six taxi drivers, including one Ali Mohammad of the Government taxi stand, were arrested on the suspicion that a patriot was seen moving about in a taxi.

All buses had been commandeered to transport fresh reinforcements of the Indian army and contingents of Rajasthan police.

It is significant that Rajasthan Police Reserve had been brought in because it has acquired a notoriety for committing atrocities on nationalists of Nagaland.

MASSACRES

The Hindu Dogras of Jammu, and in valley, were being supplied with fire-arms in order to perpetrate massacre of Muslims. It was being falsely stated by the Indian authorities that the patriots were burning Hindu temples and Hindus were told that this was a religious war to save the honour of Hindu 'dharma'.

Two Indian Hindus were appointed to carry out arming of the Hindu population while Muslims were being required to surrender arms.

This indiscriminate persecution of all other communities by Hindu authorities brought these communities, particularly Muslims and Sikhs, together for survival.

An example of this was provided when Hindus of Jammu decided to massacre Muslims of Mohalla Talab Khati Khan and another area on August 20. The Sikhs immediately came out to warn the Hindus that they would fight to defend the Muslims and as a result the Hindus abandoned their plan.

The nice behaviour of the patriots towards the Sikhs and other communities became the talk of the town in Srinagar and elsewhere.

One of the Sikhs fleeing the indiscriminate firing of the Indians from village Beroo stated at the Gurdawara Amir Kadal in Srinagar that it was a contingent of the partiots who helped him conceal his hard earned cash of Rs. 1,400 in his turban and around his waist and escorted him to safety.

He also stated that while entering Srinagar, the Indian forces searched him naked, repeatedly pulled his beard to see it was not fake and on finding the money deprived him of half of the amount.

He was subsequently arrested on charge of rumour-mongering.

HARROWING TALES

Four refugee camps—Garhi Dopatta, Rehra, Khai Galla and Hajia—in Azad Kashmir eloquently belied Indian claims of secularism and non-violence. One had only to look at the 20,000 sick and wounded—in many cases heinously mutilated—men, women and children to realise the plight of the helpless, unarmed Muslim population of Occupied Kashmir.

These 20,000 had harrowing tales to tell of the atrocities of Indian Forces in the held State. They were tortured out of their homeland, their houses burnt, their cattle lifted and their kith and kin butchered.

These victims of India's communal barbarism were hounded out from over 100 villages inside Occupied Kashmir and below the Haji Pir Pass. They reached Azad Kashmir after days of treking through thick jungles in a condition that can hardly be described.

They instantly surrounded 38 villages in the Haveli and Mendhar tehsils of Poonch District and asked the people to get out of their houses. Those who resisted or hesitated were shot dead.

Simultaneously, they started shelling about 70 villages within their range from the Haji Pir Pass. Several villages were burnt, others were evacuated and the entire Muslim population—or what was left of it—was pushed into Azad Kashmir.

A 10-year-old girl, Sharif Jan of Khaliana, was picked up from the jungle seven days after she had run out of her house. Her parents, brothers and sisters—15 in all—were either killed or imprisoned.

A woman of Shahpur Mendhar said her two brothers and two sisters were killed. A sickly woman hugged two of her children—a 10-year-old girl and a 7-year-old boy—all that she had left. Both of the children had bullet wounds.

Mohammad Aziz of Azad Bara had both of his legs bandaged.

A wailing woman with a two-year-old child in her arms said her husband was killed before her very eyes. She escaped to Azad Kashmir during the night.

Another woman told how the eyes of her husband and brother were taken out while another said that her father and brother were skinned.

Indian soldiers killed indiscriminately—men, women and children. Some of the women were found in the jungle with hardly anything on.

GRIM AND GHASTLY

Hair-raising stories of the brutalities and inhuman acts committed by the barbarian Indian forces on the Kashmiris were narrated by Kashmir refugees belonging to village Taachan in Poonch district.

Several thousands were sheltered in nearby villages while many more were concentrated in Bandi Abbaspur and Pallandri.

Beaten and mauled by Pakistan Armed Forces on West Pakistan borders, the Indians seemed to have gone amuck. They embarked upon wholesale genocide of Kashmiri Muslims when the cease-fire was enforced in the early hours of September 23.

Eight families—consisting of 32 persons, including six women and six children—took refuge in Rawalpindi after suffering miseries perpetrated on them by the Indian forces.

Ataullah, about 35, who ran a general provision store in a village, about five miles from Haji Pir Pass, said that innocent Kashmiris were massacred, women molested and children brutally killed before their parents.

Ataullah and others, who left their native village after the Indian invasion on September 6, reached Lohian in Azad Kashmir on foot and from there proceeded to Rawalpindi.

Ataullah said that after capturing Haji Pir Pass, the Indian Forces heavily bombarded the forward areas. "We saw the nearby village, Chand Tehkri. There the Indians set on fire the homes of Kashmiri Muslims after massacring them," he said.

Aziz Deen, another refugee who was a "Lumberdar" in Taachan, said that the homes of Kashmiris were looted and the articles which they could not carry were set on fire.

"I saw that scores of people were pushed inside their homes which were later set ablaze", he added.

Another victim, Ghulam Nabi, about 26, told the journalists with tears rolling on his cheeks that he was the only man out of a family of 16 persons who could reach Rawalpindi after the Indians idvaded his home town, Kala Mola in Poonch district.

He said that a mother with an infant in her arms was trying to flee but an Indian brute lifted her child on the bayonet and then cut it into pieces. The pieces of the child were then offered to the horrified mother, who fell unconscious. Later, she was also killed by the Indians. He said that the Kashmiri girls were molested by the Indians. They did not even spare the pregnant women and outraged their modesty, he added.

Ghulam Nabi, who also owned a general provision store in Kala Mola, said that the houses of villagers were used as "morchas" against the Pakistan forces. They took out all wooden material and roof of their houses for this purpose. When some of the villagers offered resistance they were shot dead and their houses set on fire. In Kohotta village, they demolished a number of houses to make runway. The Indian invaders also took away on their helicopters all wheat which was just ready after the crop.

The refugees said that they were about 150 when they left their native village. After a 24-hour journey on foot with nothing to eat and drink, they reached Lohian, where the Azad Kashmir Government arranged for their ration.

COLD-BLOODED MURDERS

More than 40 villages were burnt by the Indians in Rajauri area within two months, according to a refugee from the held territory.

A refugee, Master Mohammad Dilpazeer, who crossed over into Azad Kashmir from village Ghamir Mughlan in Rajauri Tehsil, said 10 girls from his village were kidnapped by the Indian soldiers. These helpless girls were beaten by rifle butts and criminally assaulted during their detention, and one girl died while returning to her home when they were set free.

Another refugee, Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan, Chairman of the Panchayat of village Gothi from Rajauri tehsil, stated that about 20 families of Muslims, including men, women and children, were burnt alive in two villages by the Indians under the pretext that they had given shelter to the freedom-fighters.

Sardar Mohammad Akbar stated that the District President of the Revolutionary Council in Rajauri, Al-Haj Mohammad Salim Khan, who was formerly the General Secretary of the National Conference, was arrested by the Indian Army and taken to the Brigade Headquarter. Though nothing was known about his fate but according to the statement of some refugees who followed him Sardar Mohammad Salim Khan was murdered in cold blood and his body was cut into pieces by the Indian soldiers.

Munshi Talab Hussain, a refugee from village Draba of Mehnder tehsil, stated that his four shops and two godowns were looted by the Indian Army. When his house was set on fire in his presence, he crossed the Cease-fire Line to save his family from the Indian brutes. About 40 villages in Mehnder tehsil were burnt to ashes by the Indians and 13 young girls were abducted from two villages within one month, he said.

Another refugee, Sardar Mohammad Akbar Khan, of village Gundi, said it had become impossible for Muslim women to come out from their houses in Mehnder district for their routine work. Whenever any Muslim woman moved out, she was chased and molested by the Indian troops. On every occasion, he added, the people protested to the Indian authorities against the inhuman treatment of their troops but no action was taken.

STUDENTS NOT SPARED

The Indian police opened fire a number of times on student processions at Hazratbal on October 19.

The students made several attempts to enter the shrine, which was surrounded by a strong force of troops and police following the previous day's furious demonstration.

The processionists raised slogans demanding plebiscite and denouncing the Indian colonial rule. The puppet Government had imposed a ban on the holding of meetings and taking out of processions in the vicinity of the shrine. In Srinagar, slogan-shouting groups of people marched through the streets condemning the police firing and demanding self-determination. Demonstrations were also held in almost all other towns.

REIGN OF TERROR

The reign of terror let loose by the Indian Forces in Occupied Kashmir was confirmed by a despatch from Srinagar, broadcast by the BBC in the Newsreel programme on October 25.

The correspondent who filed the despatch observed that the Indian Police and Security Forces had further stiffened their attitude towards Kashmiris and they were not allowed to raise pro-plebiscite slogans even peacefully.

The shopkeepers who observed hartal in favour of the freedom movement were either threatened with cancellation of their licences or the sealing of their shops.

The British correspondent further reported that the anti-religious attitude of the police in Occupied Kashmir had resulted in violence and there had been widespread arrests. A bomb was thrown on a police station on the preceding Friday.

Two Indian soldiers were killed and four others were seriously wounded during a violent 45-minute clash between the patriots and a contingent of Indian Army and Police in the outskirts of Srinagar on October 30.

The clash occurred when the police tried to disperse the enraged patriots demonstrating against massacre of Muslims in

Rajauri and Poonch areas by the Indian Army. Several times the police resorted to lathi-charge resulting in injuries to many persons.

A hand-grenade was thrown at the Indian contingent during heat of the clash. Two Indian soldiers were killed instantaneously.

Later the police arrested 15 persons on the suspicion of throwing the hand-grenade.

The Sada-i-Kashmir reported on October 30 that the freedom-fighters had intercepted the order of an Indian Brigadier regarding the massacre of the Muslims in Rajauri and Poonch areas. The order revealed that the Indian authorities intended to clear the whole area of its population.

BURNT ALIVE

The Jan Sanghi goondas burnt 16 Muslim villages in Rajauri area on October 31. Many villagers were burnt alive. Hundred of goondas, who were celebrating the 'Patel Day' also looted the villages and kidnapped more than 100 Muslim women.

Among the victims of the large-scale arson and massacre was the family of one of the Hindus' own agent, Jama Seth, whose whole family was burnt alive. The goondas killed many villagers when they tried to escape.

The Jan Sanghis carried out their operations with the active support and help of the Indian occupation forces. The Jan Sanghis, who were fully armed with guns and hand-grenades, held a meeting in the morning and then attacked the villages from all directions.

Jama Seth has been a very active Indian agent in the area and had presented the Jan Sanghi goondas with three hundred rifles but his own family could not escape the Indian brutal scorched-earth policy.

Mohammad Boota, a 70-year-old headman of a village Lasurian, along the India-Pakistan border, said the Indians attacked the village at the dead of night with infantry and armoured tanks. Then hundreds of people woke up and ran to safer places. The indiscriminate firing by the enemy killed nearly one hundred inhabitants of the village. The Indians also abducted the womenfolk and molested them. They snatched valuables from the villagers and set their houses on fire.

Murad Ali, a villager of Hudiara said that the Indians entered his village at 5 a.m. on September 6. When people ran out for safety, they were shot dead by the enemy. The womenfolk preferred to drown themselves in the village wells rather than be abducted. Most of the people remained surrounded from all sides by the enemy and spent the days in great agony. The enemy would visit them at night and ask for young men and ammunition.

Nearly three hundred young men were abducted by the enemy and put on forced labour. Over five hundred villagers were killed by the enemy due to indiscriminate firing. The enemy deprived the villagers of their valuables and looted everything which he could.

Mohammad Din of Narore said that the enemy started shelling the village at 3 a.m. on September 6. Over one hundred inhabitants of the village who were asleep in the open died of splinters. The Indian troops entered the village at about 5 a.m. and levelled the entire village to the ground with tanks. They searched the pockets of everybody and deprived him of everything which he had on his person.

The sucking babies were separated from their mothers and thrown in the fields. Some of the womenfolk were also abducted and driven towards the Indian side.

Sharifan Bibi, an inhabitant of a village one mile inside the Pakistan territory from the Wagah border, said what she could recall was simply that the Indians attacked her village and butchered the able-bodied young men, molested the young girls and abducted quite a few of them. They looted everything from the village and then set it on fire. The flames were visible from distant places.

Subhan, a resident of Lassu, a village one mile inside the Pakistan territory in the Sialkot district, said that the first attack on his village came early in the morning on September 7. Hundreds of people who ran out of the village were shot at and killed by the enemy. He saw several bodies littered in the fields. The injured were crying for water and help, but the Indians went on shooting at them.

TYRANNY AND TORTURES

The process of pushing the helpless victims into Azad Kashmir continued and was apparently stepped up after September 23. A large number of refugees came from Mandi area of Poonch sector in the occupied territory, known for its valiant fighters. They were the first to respond to the call from the Revolutionary Council to rise in revolt. Villages in these areas were burnt to cinders by the Indians. The refugees comprised mostly women, old men and children. Every batch was accompanied by one or two male escorts, planning to go back after leaving their kith and kin.

The occupied territory, a refugee said, was under the exclusive control of the Indian Army. Terrorisation on a very large-scale was being carried out by the Indian Army and quasi-military units like the Militia, Home Guard, Reserve Police and the Special Police.

Young Muslims were skinned on their refusal to work as forced labourers. Many refused to come out of their dwellings and were burnt alive.

Begum Jan, an old woman from Shahpur Mandhar, had to come all alone. The members of her family were serving in the Indian Army. Their arms were taken from them on the pretext that they were Pakistani agents. She said her husband and other male members were taken to the military post, handcuffed. From there they never returned. She left her house under darkness with a two-year-old child. The child died on the way due to starvation. She reached Ghari Dopatta, 18 days later.

Kamaldin, of Shahpur Mandhar, came over to Azad Kashmir to escort his aged mother, wife and children. He and his two brothers were among the first Mujahids who started the struggle in occupied Kashmir. His elder brother, Alf Din, was killed during an assault of an Indian post. He started for Azad Kashmir after the martyrdom of his brother. He walked 45 miles with his family and on the way many refugees from Shahpur, Duna, Doronwali, Pianch and Noma Bundi joined him.

Ghulam Rasool of Philyana and his seven brothers were killed by the Indians. They were taken from their home to a military picket to be used as porters. Three days later their dead bodies were discovered in a nullah. He himself managed to escape.

Two young daughters of Barkat Bibi of Bhede were kidnapped by Indian soldiers. Since then she had not seen them. Her husband was also killed as he went in search of his daughters. Later, the same night, the Indians shelled the village, forcing the inhabitants to flee.

Mohammad Yusuf, an old man from Mandi, had 33 bullet wounds on his body. His escape was almost a miracle. His three sons, along with 18 other relatives, fell victim to Indian atrocities.

Moti Begum, of Kerni, Tehsil Haveli, said her husband was subjected to harrowing atrocities. His eyes were gouged out on his refusing to work as a porter. She discovered him in a nullah in a critical condition. He died two days later.

BARBARITIES

The torturing and killing of Pakistani prisoners of war by the Indians in complete violation of the Geneva Convention was reported from the Fazilka sector.

A Defence Ministry spokesman said in Rawalpindi on October 8 that this evidence had been provided by a number of dead bodies of Pakistani soldiers which had been recovered from an area recaptured by our troops in the Fazilka sector.

The spokesman said that the hands of these soldiers had been tied behind their backs and their stomachs had been cut open from one end to the other.

These prisoners of war were subjected to the brutality and barbarism when they heroically refused to give out the information the Indians wanted under duress.

TRUE STORIES

Rahmat Bibi is a middle-aged widow with five children. Her husband was shot dead by the Indian troops in a border village near Sialkot, because he refused to say which side the Pakistan troops had moved.

She said that on September 8 when Indian troops broke into her border village of Chardah, near Sialkot, two Indian soldiers broke into her house and asked her husband to tell them where the Pakistani Forces were. When he refused to do so, they shot him dead on the spot. She said it was with great difficulty that she escaped from her gun-battered hut to Pakistani lines and was taken to the Sialkot refugee camp.

Twenty-year-old Ilahi Bakhsh, of the same village, said the Indian troops lined up all the young men of the village, ordered them to do forced labour for them and when they refused, they were shot dead in the village square. Later, the Indians gleefully trampled upon their dead bodies.

He said that he managed to escape into a wheat field and hid in the greenery for many days. He added, later in the evening a Sikh officer entered the village and asked the troops not to kill every villager. Later the Indian troops moved to other areas. He thus managed to escape to Sialkot in the morning. His younger brother was among those martyred by the Indian aggressors.

CLAPPED IN PRISON

The situation in Srinagar took a new turn on October 21 with the early morning police swoop on Maulana Masoodi, leader of the Holy Relic Action Committee, Mr. Mohiuddin Karra, leader of the Kashmir Political Conference and 24 others.

With these arrests, almost all Opposition leaders in the valley are in jail.

Maulana Masoodi is a close associate of Sheikh Abdullah and Karra is a cousin of the present Chief Minister of India-held Kashmir, Mr. G. M. Sadiq. They were detained under the Defence of India Rules.

A Government spokesman said that their detention was a sequel to "unlawful" demonstrations in the interior of the city held on October 20 and "to curb anti-national activities."

The demonstrations in Srinagar were in protest against the police high-handedness during a clash with anti-Indian demonstrators at the Hazratbal shrine. Maulana Masoodi and Mr. Karra said armed police had entered the shrine and ransacked it. But the Indian officials blamed the damage to the shrine, where the holy relic of Prophet Mohammad (peace be on him) is kept, on stone-throwing students.

MORE ARRESTS

The puppet Government of held Kashmir decided to take over all the shrines and main mosques in the Indian-held area and to place all the religious shrines and mosques under permanent police custody, on October 23.

The funds of the Auqaf Committee were also frozen. The Committee was further ordered to suspend its work of looking after the maintenance of Muslim sacred places forthwith.

Police and Armymen were posted at the Jamia Masjid Khankah-e-Moalla, Hazartbal Shrine, Pathar Masjid, Ziarat Pir Dastgir, Ziarat Hazrat Khawaja Nakshband, Mazar-e-Shohada and Ziarat Hazrat Makhdoom Sahib in Srinagar.

The Dogras turned the Jamia Masjid and the Pathar Masjid into Army godowns and stables.

After Juma prayers the Kashmiri patriots took out processions shouting slogans of "Indians go home," "Plebiscite Zindabad" and "Release our leaders." The Indian Army and police posted at important bridges and other strategic places lathi-charged the Kashmiri patriots who were returning after Juma prayers.

In the afternoon, violent demonstrations led by students were held in Srinagar, Baramula and Anantnag. The demonstrators battled with the Indian Police for a long time and a large number of students and patriots received injuries as a result of the lathi-charge.

A number of Khateebs and Imams of mosques were arrested for exhorting the people to wage Jehad against the Indian aggressors and for praying for the liberation of their homeland.

Thousands of Muslims gathered at Charar Sharif to observe the Urs of Hazrat Shaikh Nuruddin Wali. The 18-mile long road from Srinagar to Charar Sharif was being heavily patrolled by the Indian police and Army armed with guns, hand grenades and tear-gas shells and the shrine itself was surrounded. The Indians entered into the shrine and tried to drag out the people when the Kashmiri Muslims prayed for the freedom of their motherland.

COWARDLY ATTACKS

The Jan Sanghi goondas continued their brutal activities in occupied Kashmir and burned Gandharbal and some other villages around it on November 1.

The Indian Army gave the Jan Sanghis a protective shield when they were attacking the unarmed Kashmiris. Many were burnt alive while others were fired upon as they ran for safety.

Later in the evening the enraged Muslims in Rajauri and Mendhar area took out a protest procession against the arson and massacre let loose by the hired goondas. The demonstrators consisted of women and students and were shouting slogans against the Indian occupation of the State.

A violent clash took place when Jan Sanghis supported by Dogra police attacked the procession. Many patriots, including ten students and two women, were injured while 70 others were arrested. Later the Jan Sanghis set on fire villages surrounding the scene of clash. The villages were seen burning late in the evening.

The exact number of those who perished in this massacre by fire was not available. By any conservative estimate they would run into hundreds. Most of those killed were women and children. One hundred and eighty-five houses were gutted in the cowardly attack.

Muslims from adjoining villages next morning tried to enter the smouldering houses to take the dead bodies for burial, but they were prevented by the Indian Army. Instead they were arrested and taken to unknown places.

STRAIGHTENING OUT !

Among the victims of Indian atrocities in Rajauri area on October 27 was the Zaildar of the area, Karamatullah. All the three villages in his area were burnt when he refused to meet Indian Major-General Gopal Singh for "straightening out things in the area." Instead he organised the Muslims of the area, driving out five hundred Indian police and agents from there. He also hoisted the revolutionary flag over the local police post.

The Indian army attacked the area at night, ransacking the three villages and then setting them afire. Karamatullah along with two other patriots was arrested and the three were killed after being subjected to most inhuman treatment. Their bodies were left hanging from a tree along with a wooden board on which was written, "These are freedom-fighters."

INHUMAN TREATMENT

The refugee families forcibly pushed into Azad Kashmir on point of bayonet by the Indian army from the Rajauri and Mendhar tehsils, narrated stories of barbarism and intolerable inhuman treatment meted out to them before their eviction.

Tears rolled down the eyes of these refugees while narrating that the Indian army and local Hindu goondas and Jan Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha desperadoes forcibly lifted their young women on point of gun. If these unarmed poor women resisted, the Indian army tore off their clothes and cut their breasts. Not contented with this diabolical action they threw powdered chillies and salt on the wounds and let the injured women die in pain and agony.

Similarly, the Indian Army would dub the young Kashmiri Muslims as the helping hands of the Mujahids, and on this assumption, they made deep cuts with knives and bayonets on various parts of their bodies, particularly the arms and thighs, with hands folded and tied at their backs, and filled these wounds with chillies and salt.

An old man, Fazal Hussain of Bhattian Sharif explained how his young son Abdul Rashid, aged 22, along with 20 other young boys was mercilessly butchered by the Indian Army and goondas. They also abducted 21 girls of village Ghumir Mughlan. The women who resisted were hacked to pieces.

The Jan Sangh and Mahasabhite goondas and Indian forces killed 95 Muslim prisoners in Chinhari forest on November 3. The patriots were being shifted under military guard to Udhampur jail on the pretext of being detained there. As the convoy reached a secluded spot in the jungle, large and heavily armed groups of Hindu militants attacked the handcuffed prisoners from

all directions. The patriots killed were those who were arrested from Srinagar Airport along with some students for demonstrating against Mir Qasim, a Minister of the puppet Government of Occupied Kashmir. They were later taken to different military camps and were subjected to excessive torture, resulting in the death of four students.

EXTERMINATION

During an attack on a village in Bandhar area, the Indian troops demanded that all the women of the village should be sent to their camp. On the refusal of the villagers, the Indian soldiers burnt the village, killing all the men and then kidnapped the women, who were killed after being molested and their dead bodies put to fire.

Hordes of armed Hindu militants began execution of the sinister Indian plan to exterminate Muslim population of the Occupied Kashmir by ransacking three Muslim habitations on November 11.

Raising slogans against the Muslims, the Indian killers rode to these villages in buses. They changed over to cries of "Allah-o-Akbar" when in the vicinity of Muslim hamlets to deceive the innocent people. After wanton loot, arson and murder these Jansanghi and Mahasabhite goondas returned to the army camps leaving behind burning houses and panicky Muslim men, women and children.

Jansanghi goondas also began infiltrating into educational institutions in the garb of "students". These elements mixed with the demonstrating students and attacked Muslim shops and houses when the students held demonstrations in favour of plebiscite. The Indian authorities were also recruiting the Hindu militants in various institutions and Government Departments to carry on their nefarious victimisation of Muslims.

NEFARIOUS ACTIVITIES

The Jan Sanghi goondas destroyed four more villages in Bandipur area. Several Muslims were killed and a large number were arrested by the Indian police assisting the Hindu militants in their nefarious mission. The attackers ransacked the houses in the four villages before setting them on fire. Sada-i-Kashmir Radio named the villages as Fuzzalepura, Bunkot, Matrigram, and Sanarwani. The Indian police were forcibly entering the houses of Muslims on the excuse of searching for hidden weapons.

MORE GOONDAS

Another two lakh Jan Sanghi goondas were being recruited throughout India to further intensify the extermination of Muslim population of the Occupied Kashmir, Sada-i-Kashmir disclosed on November 14.

The recruitment was being done on the instructions of the Indian Army's Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Choudhry, and Lt. Gen. Katoch, who had been appointed to supervise the loot and massacre of the Muslims of the valley.

Jan Sanghi leaders had been instructed to recruit 100 to 150 goondas from their respective areas who were being grouped as "save-India" batches. These goondas were trained by the Indian army personnel in arson techniques before being deployed in various areas of Occupied Kashmir to carry on their nefarious activities.

DONE TO DEATH

The Indian police tortured to death 27 workers of the Kashmir Plebiscite Movement in Udhampur Jail, the Radio Sada-i-Kashmir

disclosed on November 17. These workers were murdered for their refusal to stand witness against the Plebiscite Movement leaders. The patriots were severely beaten throughout the night between November 13 and 14.

LEADERS MURDERED

Twelve prominent Muslims of village Dhar Malkan in Tehsil Rajauri, who were arrested by the Indian Army earlier, were murdered in cold blood, according to an eye-witness account given by refugees reaching Mirpur. The murdered leaders included Maulvi Mohammad Hasan, Khatib of Jamia Masjid, Dharal; Sardar Karamatullah, Zaildar, Mr. Abdur Rashid, an education officer; and Peer Hyder Shah. These Muslims, whose houses were ransacked by Indian soldiers and Hindu gangsters, were rounded up and detained in a military camp at Dharal and tortured for a couple of days.

PATRIOTS & POLICE

About 300 patriots were arrested by the Indian police. They were driven in trucks to far-flung areas where they were left to trek their way back home on foot.

The Indian police also took into custody 53 students who were taken to various army camps and jails.

Ten patriots were killed in an attack by armed Jan Sanghi goondas near Balowal where an Indian attempt to stage a meeting of the so-called National Congress miserably failed on November 17.

Hundreds of patriots from Badgam and Shopian, who had gathered there to demonstrate at the meeting place, were returning to their homes when the Jan Sanghis waylaid them.

Another 122 Muslim prisoners were murdered in cold blood on November 16 by the Jan Sanghi and Mahasabhite goondas supported by Indian troops in the Chinhari forest. The prisoners were being transferred under military guard to Udhampur and other jails and military camps. Heavily armed Hindu militant groups attacked them when the convoy reached a secluded point in the forest and all the handcuffed patriots were massacred. The Indian military escort did not interfere.

FALSE PRETEXTS

More than 158,000 non-Kashmiri Hindus had been settled in the Valley since September 9, while about the same number of Muslims had been pushed into Azad Kashmir. This was being done on the pretext of settling Hindus of Chhamb and Jaurian, although the number of Hindus living in these areas was only 90,000.

The Kashmiri Muslims taken to India on November 16 on the pretext of providing better jobs there had not reached Sima, by November 21. Their whereabouts were not known and it was feared that they might have been murdered on the way by the Hindu goondas. Among them were 28 persons from Srinagar, 88 from Bandipur and some others from Khutoa, Hindpara and other areas.

TREE-HANGING

The famous Mujahid of freedom movement of Rajauri area, Haji Fazal Hussain, was cold bloodedly murdered by the Indian police. Haji Fazal Hussain had gone underground after the Indian Government despatched Jan Sanghis into the area to help suppress the liberation movement. The puppet Government had announced a reward of Rs. 15,000 for any clue leading to the arrest of this Mujahid.

The Indians also set on fire the entire village of Haji Fazal Hussain after his capture. Later, he was badly beaten up, hanged on a tree and after he had expired, the Indians cut his body into pieces which they threw into fire.

HARASSMENT

Twenty-two Muslim Government servants were arrested after a plebiscite meeting at Golbagh in Srinagar. They were sentenced to one month's imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 200 each.

With the transfer of Muslim employees from Muslim majority areas going on, five doctors of the Medical College, Srinagar, and a military hospital, were posted to Jammu.

A Muslim Professor of S.P. College of Srinagar was brutally beaten by the Indian police and was lying in the Civil Hospital in critical condition.

The Indian police was also harassing Muslim traders at Gulmerg, who were called to police stations for interrogation and were manhandled. The Indians suspected them of aiding the movement of freedom fighters between Srinagar and Gulmerg and supplying them with arms.

The Indian police also intruded into the home of Muslim residents of Chankhan and of various mohallas in Srinagar. Several persons who resisted forcible entry by the Indian police into their abodes were taken into custody.

The puppet Government also ordered cancellation of ration cards of a large number of patriots because of their active participation in the Plebiscite movement. The Indian police warned these persons that their ration cards will be renewed only when they undertook to refrain from taking part in the freedom movement.

SACRILEGE

A procession led by students was taken out in Srinagar. One of the students was carrying a copy of the Holy Quran on his head. As the procession was heading towards Badshah Chowk the Indian occupation forces lathi-charged the procession and kicked the Holy Quran about until it was torn to shreds. The student who was carrying the sacred book was beaten to such an extent that his condition became precarious. Another student who tried to protect the Holy Quran received serious injuries. In the same incident an ASI of India's Central Reserve Police was seen pointing his stengun at a Muslim Director-General of Police.

MORE KILLINGS

At least 230 Kashmiri patriots were killed by armed Hindu bandits supported by Indian troops in clashes during 24 hours in different areas, Radio Sada-i-Kashmir reported on November 28.

The Radio also reported the death of five students and twelve other Kashmiri leaders because of excessive torture in different prisons and army concentration camps.

In the violent clash in Mendhar 20 Jan Sanghi goondas and 125 patriots lost their lives. The clash occurred when a large number of Hindu bandits entered the area with burning torches and tried to put on fire all the houses in the area. The armed Hindu goondas were supported by a strong contingent of the Indian army which fired indiscriminately when the infuriated Muslims put up a tough fight.

Another 50 Kashmiri patriots died of Indian troops' firing during a clash in village Morha near Poonch. The village was attacked by Hindu bandits who desecrated the Holy Quran and threw pages from it on the ground. The Muslims of the village

took a vehement exception and attacked the Hindu goondas Indian troops backing the bandits fired on them killing at least 50 of the Muslims while the rest were handcuffed and taken to a military camp.

Meanwhile the Central Organising Committee of Kashmir Students announced the murder of a prominent member of the Committee, Mumtaz Mirza, who had gone underground after the arrest of Kashmiri students from the Srinagar airport and was issuing secret instructions to the students. A large-scale hunt under the supervision of an Indian police official, Remecher Singh, was organised and search was carried out in Rajauri and Mendhar areas. A prize of Rs. 20,000 had also been announced for his capture.

According to latest reports, Mumtaz Mirza and four other students were killed after being subjected to most inhuman torture.

In the last week of November, 55 Kashmiri Muslims were killed by Hindu bandits in village Kayan, one and a half miles from Poonch city. Early in the day Muslims had been asked to vacate the village on the charge that they were giving protection to freedom-fighters. Jan Sanghi goondas, under the leadership of Turlok Singh, attacked the village during the night in the presence of Mir Ghulam Mohammad, a member of the Occupied Kashmir Assembly.

"OIL BURNING"

The people of the village Jalian in Tehsil Haveli were taken to a police station on the pretext of noting down their grievances. Kerosene oil was sprinkled on their bodies at the police station and all of them were burnt alive.

In village Buglana neer Soupur, one Hidayatullah was forced to collect wood and was later burnt alive with the help of those very pieces of wood.

Two hundred Kashmiri patriots were burnt alive in Rajauri area, Radio Sada-i-Kashmir reported on November 30.

The massacre followed the death of 50 Jan Sanghis in a clash with the Kashmiri patriots in village Dangriwala on November 28.

Indian Army on November 29 used a helicopter to machine-gun a caravan of Kashmiris treking their way to Azad Kashmir from village Kalbuddal. Many men, women and children were killed in the helicopter raid.

Earlier, a serious clash had taken place in Kalbuddal between the Jan Sanghi attackers and the villagers in which 20 Hindu goondas were killed. The Indian Army later rushed to the village and set it on fire.

The Indian Police arrested 100 workers of the plebiscite movement in Srinagar.

The police also imposed restrictions on the supply of coal and firewood to the people in order to coerce them into submission.

The police issued permits for the purchase of coal and firewood after thorough checking to ascertain whether the applicant for permit was not in any way connected with the self-determination movement.

AFTER TASHKENT

Even after the Tashkent declaration, there are reports that persecution of Muslim population by the Rashtarya Sewak Sangh and Jan Sanghi goondas in Occupied Kashmir is continuing unabated.

The main targets of their reign of terror and persecution have been Rajauri (Poonch District), Reasi, Udhampur, Doda, Kishtwar and Badharwah, where Muslim houses were ransacked and burnt, young girls kidnapped and scores of innocent Muslims rounded up on flimsy charges.

According to the report, a large number of Muslims of village Dandser, in Rajauri, were arrested by Jagdesh Singh Sub-Inspector on the basis of a false complaint lodged by a Jan Sanghi worker accusing them of having slaughtered a cow. The entire village is since then under the surveillance of the Punjab Armed Police and the Muslims are being subjected to physical and mental torture in the police lock-ups.

Similar inhuman atrocities were committed by Hindu communalists in villages Buehal, Kandl, Peeri, Sokar, Shah Dara, Darhal, Tahanna, Mendhar, Bufliaz and Chela where over 300 Muslims are reported to have been detained in various interrogation centres and police lock-ups. When they were released their blankets and coats were snatched away and thus they were exposed to the rigours of severe weather and snowfall.

In Mendhar and Buehal, the Muslim population protested to the local authorities against the large-scale arrests and repression by the Indian Central Reserve Police, but they were told to go to Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and report to him.

The report also says that 15 young Muslim girls were kidnapped by the Jan Sanghi goondas with the help of the Indian Police from villages Sakri, Sanukot and Galhoti of tehsil Rajauri during the last month. When their parents protested to the Sadiq Government they were arrested and detained in the police lock-ups.

Similar incidents have also occurred in Basoli and Bamnagar tehsils of Udhampur district, Kishtwar and Badharwah during the last month, where the Hindu goondas supported by the Punjab Armed Police and the Central Reserve Police burnt down a large number of houses in broad daylight.

In Sopore, which is an important town of Baramula district, a flour mill was burnt down by the Jan Sanghis.

In Lolab valley, Hindwara and Trehgam of Baramula district, many houses belonging to the Muslims were set on fire by the Central Reserve Police and the workers of the Rashtarya Sewak Sangh organisation. Thirty-seven Muslims, who protested to the puppet Government against their vandalism, were arrested, their blankets and coats were snatched by the Police and they were detained under the Defence of Indian Rules.

GRUESONE OPERATIONS

In mid-December last, Radio Sada-i-Kashmir had reported that at least 24,000 Muslims—men, women and children—had been massacred throughout the Held territory since August 1965, and that the campaign of decimation of the Muslim population was still continuing.

The intensity of the mass killings can be imagined from the fact that the entire population numbering 6,000 of two villages—Pir Kalewa and Darian Kiumal in Poonch—was herded to a narrow space between two hills and cold-bloodedly done to death.

Similarly, the entire Mandi town, which was the most prosperous Muslim locality in the Poonch area and thought to be a stronghold of the freedom-fighters was razed to the ground by the Indian hordes.

Before this gruesome operation, however, the entire Muslim population which was entrapped was moved to an open space and exposed to a firing squad.

The Indians did not spare even their own agent and informer one Jumma Khan of Mandi, who had even collected money for the purchase of 100 rifles for use against the freedom-fighters.

According to the account given in a Sada-i-Kashmir broadcast, Jumma Khan was summoned by a military officer and told that he was being exterminated because he was a Muslim, and they killed him along with 123 members of his clan.

Haji Fazal Hussain of Rajauri, who is living in exile in Azad Kashmir, lost 41 members of his family when his village was raided by the Jan Sangh hordes at night.

The houses gutted in Baramula, Srinagar suburb, alone came to 700.

Besides, there was a big fire in the populous Gandharbal, after which 183 charred bodies were recovered from the ruins.

APPENDIX III

They Shall Never Die

Addressing the nation on September 6, President Ayub said: "Our brave soldiers have gone forward to repel the enemy. The armed forces of Pakistan will prove their mettle. Armed with an invincible spirit and a determination which has never faltered they will give a crushing blow to the enemy. The Indian rulers do not yet realise what people they have taken on . . ." Here are a few true stories of individual and collective bravery; preceded by excerpts from world tributes to our armed forces. Having read the following pages, all interested and intelligent foreigners should ask a question: "Is it worthwhile for India to have another armed showdown with Pakistan ?"

They Shall Never Die

FOREIGN COMMENTS

"And even if it is true that the Indian army is now another than the one which suffered such a crushing defeat and humiliation at the hands of the Chinese, it is the prevailing view of the military observers that at least certain parts of the Pakistani army are qualitatively better."

"Svenska Dagbladet," Stockholm, Sweden
(September 7, 1965)

"Pakistan armed forces were able to break through the Indian aggression by launching a counter-attack and destroyed 30 Indian planes within two days. It is noteworthy that though the Pakistan armed forces are smaller in quantity compared with those of India, yet their spirit is high and they have achieved more victories than the armies of India."

"Angkatan Bersendjaja," Djakarta
(September 9, 1965)

"United States officers have long had a high opinion of the will to fight of the Pakistani soldier. Generally speaking, he is not as well educated as the Indian, but he comes from more homogeneous stock . . .

"India has a marked superiority in numbers—about 17 divisions (plus 4 others authorised) as compared with Pakistan's 8 divisions; a total of perhaps 700,000 to 800,000 men as compared with Pakistan's 250,000 to 300,000 and about 400 to 450 combat aircraft as compared with Pakistan's 150 to 200."

"New York Times," New York
(September 9, 1965)

"Man for man, unit for unit, Pakistan's smaller Army is at a higher standard of training than the Indian Army," said the BBC Defence affairs expert, Charles Douglas Home, in a commentary on the conflict between India and Pakistan, broadcast on September 10, 1965, at 4 p.m.

Report of BBC Commentary by
Charles Douglas Home
(broadcast on September 10, 1965)

"The Pakistan-India conflict, in the Pentagon's early assessment, pits tighter discipline, a higher morale, better training and some superior equipment among the Pakistanis against considerably larger Indian land, air, and sea forces.

"Washington sources see Pakistan aiming to humiliate India in a short conflict. They judge India as depending on its judgment to crush the Pakistanis under sheer military weight . . ."

"Christian Science Monitor"
(September 10, 1965)

"The weaknesses of the Indian Army were starkly revealed by the easy Chinese Communist victories along the Himalayan frontier in the fall of 1962.

"Pakistan has a somewhat more homogeneous army with less ethnic and religious frictions. Its soldiers have a high reputation for will to fight ; and in Mohammad Ayub Khan, the head of State and a Sandhurst-trained professional soldier, the army has always had a sympathetic supporter."

"The New York Times," Paris
(September 10, 1965)

"Nehru wasn't worried much about aggressions when it took Goa. But Shastri has plenty to worry about now, because he is facing penal and disciplinary action by one of the toughest and best trained armies in the world, excellently equipped, excellently led, highly organized and totally dedicated. For himself he has a motley, disorganized low-morale force of four times as many men as Pakistan, but they can't or won't fight. They only beg.

"The first Indian regiment that found itself face to face with the Pakistanis didn't get cllobered. They just turned and ran, leaving all of their equipment, artillery supplies and even extra clothing and supplies behind. One long time expert on the Indian-Pakistan picture told me this afternoon that in the military opinion, there is little doubt but that the Pakistanis will lick the Indians in the long run, despite the fact that the Indian army outnumbers the Pakistan army four to one.

"This expert said, however, that there is great disparity between the quality of the two armies, not to mention the dis-

parity in equipment. The Indian soldier is soft while the Pakistani soldier is tough and determined. The leadership is vacillating and uncertain, while the Pakistani leadership is well trained, highly talented and decisive . . .

". . . The appraisal of India's Premier Shastri is considerably less complimentary. He is a weak, indecisive individual and his predecessor Nehru was little better. For example, the Indian air force is somewhat larger than the Pakistan air force in numbers of planes, but there is no organizational pattern to the way they have been acquired or to what is on hand."

"Top of the News," (weekly), Washington
(September 6-10, 1965)

"The Moslem Military Temper : It used to be said with pride that the British Empire was the greatest Moslem power in the world, largely from a feeling that this was a great source of military strength; and it must be recognised that this military temper is likely to be present in Moslem stars . . ."

"The Tablet," London
(September 11, 1965)

" . . . Indian barbarity is mounting in fury as the Indian army and air force severely mauled, are showing signs of demoralization. The huge loss suffered by the Indian armed forces could not be kept hidden from the Indian public and in retaliation the Indian armed forces are indulging in most barbaric methods . . ."

" . . . The Chief of Indian Air Force could no longer ensure the safety of Indian air space. A well-known Indian journalist, Frank Moraes, in a talk from All India Radio also admitted that Indian Air Force had suffered severe losses and it was no use hiding the fact and India should be prepared for more losses . . ."

"Indonesian Herald," Djakarta
(September 11, 1965)

" . . . India was surprised by Pakistan's toughness and dismayed by world attitude . . . Prime Minister Shastri's Government may be looking for a way to end the war on a basis that could be explained to an aroused nation . . ."

"New York Times," New York
(September 11, 1965)

" . . . Pakistan's success in the air means that she has been able to redeploy her relatively small army—professionally among the best in Asia—with impunity, plugging gaps in the long front in the face of each Indian thrust.

"By all accounts the courage displayed by the Pakistan Air Force pilots is reminiscent of the bravery of the few young and dedicated pilots who saved this country from Nazi invaders in the critical battle of Britain during the last war . . ."

"The Observer," London
(September 12, 1965)

"It's the war that should never have happened. Here we take a look at just one side of it—through the eyes of a Pakistani soldier . . .

" . . . The Pakistani is a born fighter. He is tough and tenacious from his upbringing in rugged hill country.

"He believes passionately in his cause, in many ways, he resembles the Scottish Highlander, with a long history of clan tradition and battling. And remember, every soldier is a volunteer . . ."

" . . . Every recruit is told the legendary story of the famous march of the Guides. This regiment set out to march 350 miles from Mardan to Delhi. They did it in 22 days—an average of 16 miles a day. And they fought three bloody engagements *en route*—coming out on top each time. There is not a Pakistani soldier who wouldn't give his right arm to emulate this feat . . ."

"Sunday Post," London
(September 12, 1965)

"I have been a journalist now for 20 years and want to go on record that I have never seen a more confident and victorious group of soldiers than those fighting for Pakistan, right now.

" . . . India is claiming all-out victory. I have not been able to find any trace of it. All I can see are troops, tanks and other war material rolling in a steady stream towards the front.

"If the Indian Air Force is so victorious, why has it not tried to halt this flow ?

"The answer is that it has been knocked from the skies by Pakistani planes.

" . . . These Muslims of Pakistan are natural fighters and they ask for no quarter and they give none.

"In any war, such as the one going on between India and Pakistan right now, the propaganda claims on either side are likely to be startling. But if I have to take a bet today, my money would be on the Pakistan side . . ."

"Roy Meloni, Correspondent of American Broadcasting Corporation"
(September 15, 1965)

" It is clear from the fury with which the enemy (Pakistan) is fighting on all fronts that it has not been easy for the Indian Army to advance into Pakistan territory . . ."

" . . . Let us not forget that the Pakistan Army consists, not of disorganised rebels, but of professional soldiers . . .

"We were mercenaries till independance came: we did not change very much even after that . . ."

"Times of India," Bombay
(September 16, 1965)

" . . . Pakistan has been able to gain complete command of the air by literally knocking the Indian planes out of the skies if they had not already run away.

"Indian pilots are inferior to Pakistan's pilots and Indian officers' leadership has been generally deplorable. India is being soundly beaten by a nation which it outnumbered by a four and a half to one in population and three to one in size of armed forces . . ."

"Sunday Times," London
(September 19, 1965)

" . . . I was at a police station when a cab driver brought in three distinctly frightened Indian paratroopers who had been dropped to act as path-finders for the Indian Canberras. The Indians had hailed the cab and asked to be taken to the centre of town. Instead, the driver brought them to the police. Actually, little damage has been done by the Canberra raids because the bombers fly too high and are warded off by Pakistani jet fighters . . .

" . . . brandishing their long rifles in gestures of defiance they called for a jehad against the white-capped men of Delhi. Declared one old veteran, who proudly displayed a British Burma Star on his tattered robes : 'I have fought in many wars. Now I have come to take part in the holiest of them all' . . ."

Frank Melville in the "Newsweek"
(September 20, 1965)

" . . . Though India has a population of 400 million people compared to Pakistan with only a hundred million, Pakistan has faced the aggression of India bravely and has achieved brilliant victories . . ."

"Utusan Melayu," Kuala Lumpur
(September 22, 1965)

" . . . Who can defeat a nation which knows to play hide and seek with death? I may or may not remember the Indo-Pakistan war but I will never forget the smile full of nerve the conducting army officer gave me. This smile told me how fearless and brave are the Pakistani young men. Playing with fire to these men—from the Jawan to the General Officer Commanding, was like children playing with marbles in the streets . . .

" . . . I asked the GOC, how is it that despite small number you are overpowering the Indians? He looked at me, smiled and said: 'If courage, bravery and patriotism were purchasable commodities, then India could have got them along with American aid'. . ."

Louis Karrar, "The Time Magazine"
(September 22, 1965)

" . . . India cannot stand alone against Pakistan, much less against Communist China." This interesting disclosure was made in the "New York Times" by the paper's United Nations Correspondent, Drew Middleton.

"New York Times," New York
(September 29, 1965)

Writing under the caption "Pakistan Counts the Cost", in the 'Statist' of October 1, its own correspondent *inter alia* says:

"The Indian army was enormously expanded after the Sino-Indian conflict, and much of it still lacks adequate training. This critical element of Pakistan superiority—shown in the way her infantry were able, around Sialkot, to subdue Indian tanks

with hand-grenades—makes it certain that no matter how much aid India received from the U.S. she would never be able to defeat Pakistan."

"Statist," London
(October 6, 1965)

SAGA OF AZIZ BHATTI

"Major Raja Aziz Bhatti was commanding the company of Punjab Regt. in the Barki area on the Lahore front on the day the Indians launched their forces across the border without a formal declaration of war. Although two of his platoons were located 600 yards to the rear on the BRB Canal, he chose to stay with the forward platoon at Barki in order to personally lead the men.

"Barki dominated the whole area in front of BRB Canal and had to be captured before the enemy could attack the Canal.

"From September 7 onwards the enemy brigade supported with tanks kept attacking incessantly, using full weight of divisional artillery and direct shots from the tanks. He launched six major attacks but the troops in Barki held on in spite of the fact that enemy brought in waves after waves of fresh troops merely because of the fact that during the attacks Major Bhatti regardless of his personal safety was always with forward troops, exhorting the men to continue the fight with grim determination."

"On the night 10/11 September the enemy put in a major attack along the whole sector. A battalion of the enemy pressed on the Barki position which held on until in view of the situation on the right flank Major Raja Aziz Bhatti was asked to pull out to the home bank of BRB Canal. He withdrew with the last section when enemy had closed around Barki as well as a portion

of BRB Canal. Major Bhatti with his section fought his way to the ferry site on the BRB Canal and found it occupied by the enemy. Some of his company vehicles and men were still on the enemy side and it was essential to clear the bank off enemy. He mustered the two sections around him, personally led the attack on the enemy using a stengun and successfully cleared the enemy.

"He then organised the evacuation of men and vehicles to the other bank. Regardless of his personal safety he himself continued to fire and was the last one to come back to the home bank. But for personal courage and exemplary leadership in grave situation, the company would have lost three of its vehicles and a whole platoon.

"Once on the home bank, Major Bhatti organised his company and continued conducting shoots himself for which purpose he had to expose himself by raising his head above BRB Canal to get visibility of the area on the other side of the bank. Since this bank was plastered throughout the day and night by enemy artillery, quite often it was difficult for any artillery observer to function from this bank. Major Bhatti took upon himself this dangerous task and successfully broke up many enemy attacks by bringing down effective fire on advancing enemy tanks and infantry. Each time, he had to expose himself to the full dangers of enemy shelling, automatic weapons and tanks. At 09.00 hours on 12 September while conducting a shoot against enemy tanks and infantry posing a serious threat to his company position, a shell from an enemy tank struck him on the right shoulder and killed him instantaneously. . ."

Citation for "Nishan-i-Haider"

NERVES ON TRIAL

". . . It was here that I met him, the first Tariq of this war, modest unaware of the significance of his achievement, Major

Shafqat Baluch was the first to engage the enemy in the extreme forward position in this sector. He got the signal at 03-00 hours on 6th September and rushed forward with his company.

"We had hardly started digging when the onslaught came." It was a whole enemy brigade which passed down on this modest force. As the enemy tanks drew ominously close, Major Shafqat Baluch knew that the moment had arrived. He knew, he did not have the force to engage the enemy but he knew also that the first defence line needed time. He decided to open fire. It was a head-on clash, tanks against men. One, two, three, he knocked down the enemy tanks. Surprised by the stiff offensive, offered by a thinly manned forward position essentially meant for patrol purposes, the enemy stood rooted to the ground in bewilderment. What had this company commander got which gave him the confidence that he could fight a whole brigade? What had he got indeed? The enemy regrouped and moved again, this time more vigorously from the flanks. Major Baluch repulsed the advance on one flank and turned to the other and put in all he had. He hit him again and again and yet again. Minutes passed and turned into hours, and he kept the enemy engaged hour after hour. For nine solid hours with no more than a company, he kept the enemy brigade and the enemy armour at bay. Every time the enemy made a move he hit him in the face and sent him swirling back. Every single man in the company was fighting the first battle of Pakistan. Inspired and dedicated, these brave hundred held their ground until the signal came to Major Baluch that he had accomplished his task.

"With a bullet in his arm (which he described as a minor injury), Major Shafqat Baluch gave me the outlines of his action. He did not know that poems were being written about his company and the whole nation was admiring what he had done

for Pakistan. An old Ravian, Major Baluch comes from Sargodha. In the last few days he had acquired a beard. He is there, the bullet wound notwithstanding, ready and eager.

"Between the 8th and 11th of September, the enemy launched seven major attacks in this sector, each one of which was repulsed. "He left here hundreds of dead bodies."

"Major Baluch talked of his two companions, Major Raja Aziz Bhatti and Major Abdul Habib Khan. Both had their companies in the same sector and both of them laid down their lives while defending their positions. Major Bhatti had a distinguished record and was a winner of the Sword of Honour in 1950. He was ahead of his men facing enemy fire. Major Abdul Habib Khan got a direct tank burst as he was handing out ammunition to his men.

"It was the action in this section which contributed to the halting of the enemy advance on Wagah road. It was here that the enemy ambition to get on to the main road was frustrated and paralysed.

"These brave men had no time for rest. They had no use for rest. "The trenches are where we belong." The Commander-in-Chief had told me : "That is where we live and that is where we die . . ."

Despatch by Mr. Altaf Gauhar, C.S.P.

AGAINST HEAVY ODDS

". . . They were only 43 in number—untrained civilians, enthusiastic volunteers—who had come to fight for the defence of their motherland—their rifles out-dated, their ammunition merger !

And on the first encounter of their lives, they were called upon to fight against an entire company of professional Indian soldiers—highly equipped with mortars, shelling gadgets and calibred machine-guns. Or was it the luck which pitted them against such heavy odds just to prove their mettle?

But Lal Khan, an impromptu leader, along with his compatriots held Roheri village and Roheri post in Rajasthan Sector and is still there!

VICTORY CREDIT

". . . Yet another significant and noteworthly feature of our conversation with the officers and Jawans was that everyone from the General Officer Commanding down to a Captain commanding a company in an advance position was keen to pass on the credit or the victories to others. None of them bragged about his own accomplishment. For everyone it was the man in the next trench who actually played the vital role.

"The Infantry Officer said that magnificent job is in containing the enemy attack. But the Artillery Officer insisted that it were Tankmen who brought victory. But the Tankmen would give credit to the Infantry. . ."

"Morning News"
(October 3, 1965)

WHAT A SPIRIT

". . .All the wounded soldiers without exception were sorry for their inability to be on the front. Each one of them expressed his keen desire to join the iron tankers at their earliest . . .

". . . .The enemy, you know, can sometimes do for you what your friends cannot," one of the soldiers, his flesh torn by a machine-gun, said spiritedly. "In our case, the enemy provided us with an opportunity to become Ghazis and Shaheeds. This is why we miss him," he explained.

"Another soldier with one leg blown off was sorry that he could not, in future, take an active part in the great "brotherhood" of the valiant warriors that the Pakistan's Armed Forces constitute! He was happy nevertheless for having done his duty towards the country. . ."

NEVER BEFORE . . .

Mr. G. Faruque, while paying tributes to the country's Armed Forces in the National Assembly, likened the Army men to the Spartans who laid their lives about 2,400 years ago fighting against a much larger force. He said that there was still an epitaph in Thermoles about those 300 Spartan martyrs which reminded every passerby that they laid their lives in obedience. For the Air Force he reminded the House of the late Mr. Winston Churchill's remarks about his own forces which said : "Never before in history have so many owed so much to the so few" . . .

A VALIANT WOMAN

A highly placed foreigner, who recently visited occupied Kashmir, told 'The Pakistan Times' here that he saw in a patriot prisoners camp near Jammu a wounded young woman, clad in typical Kashmiri dress, who had killed nine Indian soldiers.

The foreigner, quoting the camp commandant, an Indian army major, said the woman killed the Indians during an attack

on a military convoy and was captured only after she was seriously wounded."

"The Pakistan Times," Lahore

A MOTHER'S WISH

"A poor old woman of a Nawabshah village had nothing to donate to the National Defence Fund, so she decided to sacrifice her most precious thing in the world—her son.

Musammat Malookan of Deh 38, Dad Village, told APP that she ordered her only son Khamiso Brohi to go to the front to 'fight the Bharati Kafirs".

'I told my son that I would not forgive him if he got a bullet in his back,' she said proudly."

WITS IN WAR

"A Pakistan Army officer who landed with his helicopter on an Indian company position not only returned to tell the tale but also brought in his train a drove of Indian soldiers as prisoners of war.

This is how it happened :

"The day after Azad Kashmir and Pakistani forces pushed into the Chhamb area, the officer was flying over in a helicopter of the Army Aviation Corps when he saw a group of soldiers underneath.

Thinking that they were Pakistanis, he asked his pilot to land.

"Here a surprise awaited him. He had landed over a still uncleared Indian company post. The soldiers were armed and in their positions. The Pakistani officer and his companion had

only one revolver between the two of them. The odds were all against them.

"With a rare nerve and cool courage, the officer shouted at the Indians to get out of their trenches, drop their arms and line up. He told them that they had no business to be hanging around there when what had remained of their battalion had already surrendered and had been led away behind Pakistani lines.

"Now I will not be harsh with you," he told them severely, "but will not like anyone to be dragging his feet. Now turn about and quick march."

"The Indian soldiers meekly obeyed. Picking up an automatic rifle, the Indians had dropped, he led them back . . ."

NO COMMOTION

"Foreign correspondents visiting Lahore were pleasantly surprised to see that there was not the slightest of unrest or commotion among the people in spite of repeated scream of air raid sirens and fierce fighting on just a few miles away from their homes.

"Even the thunder of shelling and bursting bombs have not perturbed them. On the contrary, while going round the city, the visiting newsmen saw crowds flocking round the radio sets in pan shops, roadside cafetaria listening to the progress of the war and to the news of the lastest advantages achieved by Pakistan's armed forces in countering enemy attacks.

"Following the reports of Indian aggression on Lahore borders, thousands of people rushed to the Wagah front and sought the army's permission to help the jawans in their fight

against the aggressor and although they were told that their army was strong enough to meet the cowardly Indians they insisted on offering themselves as volunteers to fight on the front. . . . ."

MY GALLANT SON

"The pround mother of a young soldier who laid down his life for his country recently wanted to be "congratulated".

"When the body of the "Shaheed" was brought to his home village in Kala Chor, the relatives and neighbours tried to console the bereaved mother. They were surprised to see the mother kiss the forehead of her son and say calmly : 'All of you should congratulate me as my gallant son has done a great deed. He is a Shaheed and now I can be counted among those mothers whose sons have sacrificed themselves for Islam and Pakistan', she told them."

TEN-HOUR BATTLE

". . . Naik Munsaf Khan was detachment commander of recoilless rifle of a company of the Punjab Regiment in advance positions on the morning of September 6, when the Indians suddenly launched a brigade attack on Lahore supported by armour against this company which had moved to the position on the same night. During the severe battle that lasted over ten hours the company came under heavy pressure of both armour and infantry.

"In the very first tank assault launched in this sector this NCO in utter disregard of his personal safety fired from an open position and knocked one tank down with the second shot. Although he moved to another position, the enemy picked up his position and tried to destroy his recoilless rifle. As a result of

this the loader was severaly wounded leaving behind a crew of two.

"Although handicapped and closely chased by the piercing armour shots, this NCO kept his wits and courage. In spite of the fact that his second colleague was also wounded by automatic fire, Naik Munsaf fired ten shots from three different positions.

"During the process he himself carried out the duty of driving, loading and firing and undeterred by the injury sustained in his ears, continued to fight the company in a heroic and exemplary manner knocking down three tanks of the enemy . . ."

". . . The NCO kept his nerve and continued engaging the enemy, who slowed up due to determined resistance put up by his platoon. When his platoon ran out of ammunition, Hav. Afzal still managed to keep his platoon in position by shouting slogans of Allah-o-Akbar and abandoned his position only when the company ordered back.

"But for his tenacious stand, indomitable spirit and personal example, his company would never have been able to give ten hours' battle to the enemy brigade croup . . ."

HIGHEST SACRIFICE

"Nazar Gul, brother of Sepoy Samar Gul Shaheed of Kohat District, in a letter to the Commander of his brother's company has offered himself in place of his brother. He also thanked the Commandant for the communication to him of the edifying news of the "Shahadat" of his brother."

"Mohammad Sher, father of Sepoy Mohammad Rafique Shaheed, in a letter has prayed for the victory of Pakistan. He said he felt proud of being father of a Shaheed, who laid down his life for defending the motherland.

"Rao Abdul Waheed Khan, father of L/Nk. Rao Mohammad Anwar Khan Javaid of Renala Khurd said : "Because of my years (70) the loss was irreparable, but I am happy because the purpose for which I brought up my son was fulfilled."

"He said he, along with his two sons aged 10 and 8, was prepared to sacrifice their lives for the defence of the country.

"H. Niaz Khan, father of Seopy Haji Nawaz Shaheed of District Bannu, has said that he was happy his only son had laid down his life for the country. He expressed his belief that Pakistan and Islam will triumph in the long run.

LET ME DIE

Here is a story told by a PAF officer :

"During one of the raids by the Indian Air Force a pilot was caught in the open with the Indian aircraft rocketing and strafing the area. An airman in spite of the raining bullets made a dash for the pilot and threw himself upon the pilot to cover him. He told the pilot officer, "We cannot let you die. If the bullet hits it will kill me but you will be safe for doing the job. Your life is much more precious than mine. . ."

ALAM ACTION

"Squadron Leader M.M. Alam, who created history by shooting down five Indian jets in a single combat, was also the first PAF pilot to fire his guns in the defence of Sargodha. His bag so far is 11 enemy Hunter fighters, about two-thirds of a fighter squadron of the Indian Air Force. . ."

Squadron Leader Alam leading the defence in a Sabre jet, shot down no less than five Hunters. Never in the history of aerial warfare has a fighter got five kills in a single battle.

"The observer says that the Hunter is a much superior aircraft, both in speed, manoeuvrability and armament, to its adversary, the Sabre . . ."

YOU ARE WELCOME

"On September 25, the Indian Brigade Commander, a Lt. Col. and a captain met one of our battalion commanders in the afternoon. The Indian Brigadier told our representative that he wanted Pakistan to vacate Chananwala area. Our battalion commander replied that we had occupied the area before the ceasefire and there was no question of getting out of it.

"We are here and we shall stay," he added. The Indian Brigadier looked at his watch. It was 16.35 hours. He said : "Alright, I give you 25 minutes to vacate Chananwala. If you don't I will take it by force." Our battalion commander said : "You are welcome . . ."

Books by Aziz Beg

CAPTIVE KASHMIR

"Mr. Aziz Beg is a prolific writer and this book is inspired with passion and conviction of the rightness of the Azad Kashmir cause and the justice, which can hardly be denied, of Pakistan's claim, supported by many lands, to a plebiscite in a lovely, tragic and vital State."

ECONOMIC DIGEST, London

". . .The learned author has completely demolished India's familiar arguments and exposed Nehru's intransigent game. For this national service, Mr. Aziz Beg deserves our appreciation and congratulations. . ."

NAWA-E-WAQT, Lahore

"Mr. Aziz Beg, Pakistan's well-known journalist, has earned the gratitude of the whole nation by writing a comprehensive book on Kashmir. In fact, this book is enough to belie the Indian claim to Kashmir and establish the justness of the Pakistan case. Apart from logical arguments and documentary evidence which make the book a really truthful study of the subject, the beauty of language and richness of expression have made it a valuable addition to the existing literature on Kashmir. . ."

JANG, Karachi

"Mr. Aziz Beg, Pakistan's well-known journalist and famous writer, has taken great pains in writing "Captive Kashmir". He has dealt with the problem of Kashmir in such a convincing manner that every just and truth-loving individual is intellectually compelled to recognise Nehru's intransigence."

ANJAM, Karachi

"Captive Kashmir" is a comprehensive and thought-provoking commentary on the Kashmir dispute, from Pakistan's point of view. We are all aware of the genesis of the Kashmir problem but the author of this book has woven all its aspects into a connected story which is not only based on reason and truth, but limelights the political importance of this dispute. A perusal of the book shows that Mr. Aziz Beg has succeeded in his mission.

IMROZE, Lahore

"The whole book has been written in such a delightfully simple and yet powerful language that it can well serve as a mirror which reflects the growing Indian imperialism. We congratulate the author on behalf of all Pakistanis who regard Kashmir as a question of life-and-death to them."

KOHISTAN, Rawalpindi

"After reading Mr. Aziz Beg's "Captive Kashmir" one has to admit that this book is easily the best so far written on this dispute. As an English language writer, Mr. Aziz Beg wields a powerful pen. What is more, he is one of those few writers who not only fought on the intellectual plane but were prominent among those associates of Quaid-i-Azam who were in the forefront in the struggle for Pakistan. In this book Mr. Aziz Beg has so picturesquely related, in his enchantingly individual style,

the heart-rending story of 40 lakh Kashmiris that one can almost visualise the various scenes of this dismal drama. We strongly commend this book for study in Western countries as it is a factual and faithful record of events which have marked the history of this dispute. We congratulate Mr. Aziz Beg on his wonderful production."

MILLAT, Karachi

"Captive Kashmir" will undoubtedly serve as a feather in the cap of Mr. Aziz Beg who is already well-known as a writer. Much has been written on Kashmir but "Captive Kashmir" can surely claim to be "something new." The force and the simplicity of the language, the arguments and ideas, the treatment of the subject and the way out suggested by the author should endear the book to both foreign and Pakistani readers.

ITTEFAQ, Dacca

"It is a well documented work and the first five chapters make dispassionate reading. One notices the impersonal and disinterested historian at work, digging out the facts which enhance the authenticity and value of the work . . . It is incidentally a history of Indo-Pakistan relations during the last years also because Kashmir is the testing barometer of our relations.

"Aziz Beg should be congratulated for a well-organised, well-ordered and well-produced book. The epigraphs of the chapters form an interesting study. They have been very well chosen."

Radio Pakistan, Karachi

"Captive Kashmir," by Aziz Beg, is a tasteful publication, well printed, well-bound, and with an effective dust cover. The

value of these features is enhanced for those who, like me, happen to know that the book was written and printed in a remarkably short period of time.

Aziz Beg's "Captive Kashmir" is based on the authenticity of official records, but this is not a mere factual documentation alone. It also has an emotional appeal and, in that sense, it is a refreshing departure from the usual documentary literature on the problem of Kashmir. The author has traced the course of the dispute over Kashmir from the time the cowardly Maharaja acceded to India . . . The success of the author lies in the effective and convincing manner in which he has exposed the endless intransigence and dishonesty of India on the basis of facts and figures publicly recognised by Pandit Nehru at one or the other occasion.

The language used is delightful and at moments touches a high degree of eloquence. The book reads like oratory. It has vigour, vitality and a great deal of punch in it. It is well worth a perusal by those who want to view the problem of Kashmir both through their head and heart."

Radio Pakistan, Lahore

"I have been delighted to read Mr. Aziz Beg's book "Captive Kashmir." In my opinion he has done a very great service to his people by presenting their national cause in such a logical, fully documented and vigorous fashion. For us all Kashmir is the very crux and test of our existence. Mr. Aziz Beg has given an unforgettable help in our fight by placing the issues before us and the world with such clarity, conviction and precise judgment. I have always had the highest regard and respect for him. His latest achievement has brought vigorous confirmation to my very high opinion of his talent and patriotism."

Mian Mumtaz Daultana

Mr. Aziz Beg's "Captive Kashmir" is a valuable addition to the literature on Kashmir. Written in a racy style, it traces the history of the struggle for freedom in Kashmir. Its vivid phrases bring before the mind's eye the grim tragedy that is being enacted in Kashmir by the Indian occupation.

Chaudhri Mohammad Ali

"Mr. Aziz Beg's "Captive Kashmir" is not only the first book of its kind on the subject but the finest commentary on the genesis of this Indo-Pakistan dispute. Every Pakistani who goes abroad for business or holiday, every student who has to stay in a foreign country for higher studies and every member of an official or unofficial delegation should possess a copy of this book before they leave Pakistan. I take this opportunity of publicly congratulating Mr. Aziz Beg on his great literary work and thanking him for the outstanding service he has rendered to Pakistan, to the cause of democracy, and, above all, to the people of Kashmir."

Yusuf Haroon

"Captive Kashmir" is undoubtedly the best book on the subject and I feel it is indispensable for those who might be interested in the Kashmir case. By writing this book you have rendered a great service to Pakistan as well as to the unfortunate people of Kashmir . . ."

JAHANZEB KHAN
Wali of Swat State

"Captive Kashmir" is an invaluable contribution to the existing literature on the Kashmir dispute. Mr. Aziz Beg has indeed done a great service to the unfortunate people of Kashmir as also to Pakistan and he deserves not only our congratulations but our gratitude too. The famous author's masterly and comprehensive treatment of the theme, his brilliant and forceful advo-

cacy of the Pakistani point of view, his lucid and fascinating style and the rich, authoritative and factual data and the beautiful manner of their presentation will endear the book to everyone interested in the subject.

Ataur Rahman Khan, Dacca

"In his brilliant exposition of the Kashmir case, Mr. Aziz Beg has shed new light on many fundamentals as well as various facets of the Kashmir problem. The treatise adds a masterly contribution to the voluminous literature on the subject. While congratulating him on this enchanting effort, I deem it my duty to express to him my deep sense of gratitude for the pains he has taken in pleading the case of the people of Kashmir to the moral conscience of mankind . . ."

Sardar Mohammad Ibrahim Khan

BEFORE AND AFTER REVOLUTION

This book may not be a full representation of Pakistan, but, surely, the book is a bold intellectual exercise in presenting the profile of Pakistan in vivid colours. Packed with facts, punctuated with anecdotes and lit with wit and humour, it is a candid, courageous and compelling commentary on the state of the nation.

Written in a fascinating and incisive style the book is at once brilliant and provocative, and may prove stimulating to adult thinking . . .

Mr. Aziz Beg has again scored ; his well-known book, "The Quiet Revolution" which appeared within a few months of the revolutionary regime, was rightly hailed as a timely and brilliant verdict on the state of the nation. His latest book, "Before and

After Revolution", is sure to become popular and occupy a unique position in the current literature on Pakistan.

The concluding part of the book deserves a careful perusal; Mr. Aziz Beg has contributed a few new ideas to fight the battle that lies ahead.

Mr. Aziz Beg writes in his own inimitable style; there is a freshness in his language. What is more, Mr. Aziz Beg is a dedicated writer ; the whole book is saturated with this spirit of service. Our politicians, economists, educationists and university students should make it a point to study this illuminating book.

Manzur Qadir

A bold and interesting study of Pakistan politics with undertones of constructive criticism.

LEADER, Karachi

Like an expert surgeon, Mr. Aziz Beg has dissected the problems . . . Like an able physician he has diagnosed the disease and suggested the remedy.

The book fills a big gap . . . it is a sober, clever and knowledgeable commentary on contemporary Pakistan . . .

There is an ease of manner . . . the language is crisp and lucid . . . the style refreshingly pleasant . . .

TAMEER, Rawalpindi

It is an absorbing study, a masterly analysis and an authentic reference book. What is more, Mr. Aziz Beg has shed new light on the national problems ; he has given a few interesting suggestions which deserve serious consideration . . . Mr. Aziz Beg

is courageous and clear-headed . . . he writes with terseness and lucidity and, what is more, with great feeling and passion. "Before and After Revolution" appears to us a 'must' reading.

JANG, Rawalpindi

Here is an excellent critique and commentary on Pakistan, a profound exposure of our political and economic illusions, a piece of analysis which is intensely provocative of thought. "Before and After Revolution" is a magnificent publication, an authoritative verdict on what we were, what we are and what we can be . . . Wielding a facile pen, Mr. Aziz Beg has brought forth both understanding and excitement to his interpretation of historic forces. What Mr. Aziz Beg says is important, but how he says it is delightful... A talented and versatile Pakistani, Aziz Beg has written out of a passionate and patriotic belief in the destiny of Pakistan . . .

KOHISTAN, Rawalpindi

. . . Aziz Beg is a good artist . . . in this latest book, he has drawn a serious portrait of the recent happenings in Pakistan . . . with journalistic foresight and courage . . .

MILLAT, Karachi

It provides thoughtful reading for the politicians, the educationists, the university students and general intellectual reader.

SIND POST, Karachi

He brings a patriotic frame of mind to his assessment of men and affairs and the seasoned journalist in him is always prepared to meet the event. They seldom take him unawares and he can predict and forewarn with disconcerting independence. Aziz Beg

has produced a very readable survey of an anxious and formative periods in Pakistan history and his book deserves the attention of the general reader, the journalist and the student.

INDUS TIMES, Hyderabad

Aziz Beg is a prolific writer ; this is his second book within a short time and is an able and independent criticism of the recent political happenings in Pakistan. It is a bold and interesting study of Pakistan and deserves attention from those who feel interested in the destiny of this country.

LEADER, Karachi

"Before and After Revolution" makes pleasant reading. The get-up of the book is of a high standard. Printing and editing are flawless.

MORNING NEWS, Karachi

GRASS ROOTS GOVERNMENT

What is Basic Democracy ? Is it peculiar to Pakistan ? What are its prospects and potentialities ? Is its future imperilled by implementation difficulties ? What is its role in building a new social order, a better political system and a strong economic structure ? Find a clear, cogent and convincing reply to these questions in this book.

Edited by Aziz Beg, who planned this study, the contributors include Manzur Qadir, Shahab, Masihuzzaman, Al-Hamza, Gulzar Ahmad, etc.

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Perhaps the real secret in this effort lies in the fact that an effort has been made and someone has found it possible to publish a book which contains the views of people who expect to understand and then explain the basic democracy to the general reader. Mr. Aziz Beg deserves our congratulations for being first in the field.

Radio Pakistan,
Rawalpindi
